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U. S. A.

AN OUTLINE OF THE COUNTRY,
ITS PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS

By

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INTRODUCTION

THE absurdity of describing the United States, even in outline, in so small a space as is at my disposal is fully evident to me. My difficulties are lessened by the fact that there will be published in this series accounts of American foreign policy and economic strength and structure, important topics which, in consequence, have been entirely neglected in this tract. Other topics have been chosen and given a special emphasis in accordance with my view of what the British public knows and does not know of the United States.

D. W. BROWN.

*Puterhouse,
October 21st, 1940.*

To
OLWEN BROGAN
LATE OF THE FACULTY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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MAP

THE U.S.A.: SHOWING REGIONS AND STATES *Frontispiece*

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

I

THE area of the continental United States is just over 3,000,000 square miles (3,026,789). This area is less than that of Europe (including European Russia), Canada, or Brazil. But in population, resources, and unity of government, the only rival of the United States is Soviet Russia.

In variety of climate and, so, of ways of life, the territory of the continental United States resembles Europe more than it does such less varied masses as Brazil, Canada, or Australia. Regions as unlike as Norway and Andalusia are united under one government, speak a common language, regard themselves as part of one nation. This unity is reinforced by the most elaborate transportation system in the world, a system the elaboration of which has been made possible by the political unity. Thus a system of air-navigation, aided by beacons, direction-beams, air-ports, has been created which political divisions would make impossible in Europe, even were Europe less ridden by war and fear of war.

But if the first thing to emphasize is unity, the second is sectionalism. Although the United States is less varied for its size than Europe, it is varied. It is possible to bathe out of doors with comfort in one part of the United States, while temperatures of 50° below zero are prevalent in another. These great climatic differences are reinforced by general geographic differences. Thus the United States can be divided into the great central valley of the Missouri-Mississippi system,

with the coastal mountains and plains on the Atlantic and Pacific. But that is a very crude division. More helpful are the great regions that geographers have discovered—regions ranging in number from half-a-dozen to forty or fifty, according to the standards used. These regions, though mainly based on obvious geographical features, are, in fact, modified by history, by economic development, by the racial origin of the population. Thus a very important dividing line—that between the long grass and the short grass¹—cuts off Minnesota and eastern North Dakota from the plains west of the Missouri. But the common Scandinavian origin of the population and the common interest in world wheat prices unite these regions. Louisiana is not merely a state of the "Deep South", and not merely the only cane-sugar region of the continental United States, it is a state of French origin and still largely of "non-Anglo-Saxon" character.

The difficulty of accurately delimiting a natural region can be illustrated from the case of the South. Historically speaking, the South is either the sixteen states in which slavery was legal in 1860, or the eleven which attempted to leave the union in 1861. But Dr. Odum has shown good reason for excluding from the South, Texas (and its child, Oklahoma), for adding Kentucky, which did not secede, but excluding the other non-seceding slave states, Maryland, Delaware, Missouri. The South has the highest proportion of Negroes, of members of evangelical churches, of illiterates, of murders, of drinkers of coca-cola, of tenant-farmers. It has the smallest number of income-tax payers, of Jews, of Catholics. All or almost all of these characteristics are explicable in terms of the others, even the coca-cola drinking, but, in addition, the South is a region that has had a common and

¹ Roughly west of 100° W., the rainfall is too uncertain to make cereal farming anything but a gamble.

binding historical experience—that of being on the losing side in a civil war.

New England is not merely a region of barren soil, of water-power, of hard winters, it is a region unified for three centuries by common educational, religious, and political experiences; and the Polish immigrants, working the farms abandoned by the Yankees, are profoundly affected by the social organization set up by the people whose descendants are now farming land in Ohio or Nebraska, or are settled in the cities, or have simply vanished like the Indian. And even across the comparative uniformity of the Middle West, historical accident has differentiated Kansas from Nebraska, northern Ohio from southern Ohio.

But, primarily, these geographical regions have, in common, their economic interests. The South is the "land of cotton", as it was when "Dixie" was written. It is dependent on world markets; it is sensitive to the change in women's taste in dress from cotton to artificial silk. But the Middle Western farmer, though he is less conscious of it, is united by varied economic misfortunes arising from the slowing down of population increase and the growth of economic nationalism in the United States and in the rest of the world. His industry of turning maize into fats via the pig, the basis of the "corn-hog cycle", is affected by a change in tastes in food—and by the fact that tropical areas can produce the equivalent of his lard without the intermediate stage of the pig. The mountain states are united by the variations in the price of silver and to the Pacific Slope the Japanese are both potential enemies and actual customers.

Climate unites regions in other ways. A drought that kills all the crops west of the Missouri, may merely serve to raise the price of cereals east of the Mississippi, to the profit of the Indiana farmer. Frost does not necessarily attack the citrous crops of Florida and

California simultaneously, nor does the boll-weevil or the corn-borer attack the cotton or corn crops over all the United States at the same time. Sectionalism—the habit of working as one political unit—is thus imposed by a variety of forces on groups of states, and the legal units, the states, are only convenient weapons for the sections to use in the endless battle of pressure groups for the favour of the Government of the United States. It is these six or seven sections, not the forty-eight states, that are the realities underlying the American federal structure, the internal obstacles to the more perfect union promised by the preamble to the Constitution.

II

The population of the United States according to the census of 1940 is 131,409,881, an increase of just under 9,000,000 since 1930, *which is the smallest percentage increase in American history*. But even in the decade 1920-1930, which showed a growth of 17,000,000 in total population, the greatest absolute increase in any decade in American history, the proportionate rate of increase had already fallen off. The increase of American population had been one of the wonders of the world; from 2,500,000 in 1776 to 122,000,000 in 1932, but the days of multiplication were passing and experts were estimating a rapid decline in increase, a speedy stabilisation and a possible absolute decline, all within the life-span of persons now living. Not only has the population increase begun to taper off rapidly, but the character of the population has begun to change. A most striking change has been the relative and absolute decline of the farm population. Between 1920 and 1930 urban population rose by 14,600,000, and farm population (as apart from nominal rural population) fell by 1,200,000.

Ideally, America is a farmer's republic, but farmers

1 IT TAKES ALL SORTS TO
MAKE A U.S.A.

1 LIBERTY CALLS (For Photos)

2. THE FIRST SIGHT OF THE NEW COUNTRY (For Photos)

3 ELLIS ISLAND—THEN INTO THE MELTING POT
(For News and Local TV Hours)



are now only a quarter of the population. Ideally, America is a country the population of which doubles in every generation; actually the population increase is rapidly approaching zero. It was assumed that the value of land, except in certain ill-favoured regions, was bound to rise, substantially if agricultural land was in question, perhaps spectacularly, if urban land was concerned. It is only just beginning to be realized that these beliefs are possibly baseless, that the great uncontrolled and exuberant growth of American population and home market is over.

It is apparently paradoxical that the American farmer should have been one of the strongest supporters of the restriction on immigration that accounts in part for the decline in population growth. Before 1914, apart from limitations on contract labour and some health regulations, immigration was unlimited, and often reached the figure of 1,000,000 a year. There had long been agitation for a reduction in the number of immigrants, but in the optimistic years it was ill-received. The war of 1914-1918 changed that. Alarm, not wholly baseless, was evoked by the spectre of what was called "hyphenization". The German-Americans were accused of being "hyphenated", *i.e.*, of not being Americans unconditionally. The reaction from Europe which followed the end of the war, the panic caused by the Russian Revolution, the more legitimate panic bred by the thought of ruined Europe pouring her derelicts into America, combined with an intolerant nationalism, to make possible the introduction, for the first time, of the idea of *numerical* limitation of immigration. Temporary laws arbitrarily reduced the number of immigrants from certain countries. Quotas were fixed first on the basis of the census of 1910, then on that of the census of 1890, then on a figure which was said to represent the proportions of various "races" in the American population of 1790. The object of



II. CITIZENS ALL

(1) *International News Photos*

(2) *Mondadori, Ltd.*

these regulations was not merely to cut down the total immigration, but to change its character. A distinction was made between the "old" and "new" immigrations. The old immigration was mainly British, Irish, German, and Scandinavian. The new was mainly Italian, Jewish, Polish, Greek, etc. What was not stated openly was that the old immigration, with some important exceptions, like the Irish and a large part of the Germans, was Protestant, and the United States in 1920 was desperately trying by law to preserve the ethos of rural America, the weak position of which was made evident by each new census. The same forces that imposed the religious taboo of rural America by the prohibition amendment were behind the new immigration policy, as they were behind the passing of state laws barring the teaching of evolution in public schools, state laws attempting to suppress Catholic "parochial" (private) schools, denunciations of cigarette advertisements that suggested that good women could smoke, and so on.

The new immigration policy had a good deal to commend it from the point of view of a citizen of the United States, if not of a citizen of the world. It was a natural extension to the labour field of the doctrine of high tariffs and it gave ground for hope that, with a more racially homogeneous labour force, trade union organization would be easier. Nor was that all. As most immigrants now settled in industrial areas and largely in racial enclaves, the problem of assimilation became more difficult and it had in any case been easier to assimilate literate, North European Protestants than illiterate South and East European Catholics, Greek Orthodox and Jews. But to assert, what was palpably true, that America was a Protestant nation anxious to preserve its fundamental character, anxious to turn away from a Europe that had made such a mess of things, was to deny the

official dogma of religious neutrality and the public conviction that the United States was the Good Samaritan of nations. So the new policy, a natural result of the movement that produced prohibition and the revived Ku Klux Klan, was provided with a scientific fig-leaf. Bogus science was called in, and it was asserted that "the English, Dutch, Swedes, Germans, and even the Scotch-Irish who constituted practically the entire immigration prior to 1890, were less than two thousand years ago one Germanic race in the forests surrounding the North Sea".¹ This fable quieted professorial and congressional consciences, but it did not alter the fact that what Congress wanted to do was to exclude Catholics and Jews, and non-English speaking immigrants in general, even though their anthropological classification might be the same as George Washington's and their blood group identical with that of the passengers in the *Mayflower*.

This was made evident by the choice of 1790 as a basis for immigration quotas, for that gave the maximum quota possible to what was called the "Anglo-Saxon race". In America, this word has lost whatever meaning it had in the mouths of Freeman or Green, since it includes very many persons who were, by the simple-minded classification of Victorian England, "Celts". It meant those persons whose names, religious background, and social habit indicated that their ancestors had been in America when the United States was formed. No Dutch family from New York, like the Roosevelts, no German family like the Rockefellers, no French family like the Gallatins or Laurens, suffered from not being as "Anglo-Saxon" as Smiths or Jones or Campbells.²

¹ Roy L. Garis, *Immigration Restriction, A Study of the Opposition to and Regulation of Immigration into the United States*, p. 203.

² Indeed, the good Lowland name of Pettigrew and the good Highland name of Lamont were both, in defiance of grammar, asserted to be of Huguenot origin.

III. NEGROES

1. IN THE SOUTH,
COTTON-PACKING
(*Montele, Ltd*)

2. HE MAY DREAM
OF HARLEM (N.Y.)
(*General Photographic
Agency*)

3. OR HOWARD
UNIVERSITY, FOR
NEGROES ONLY
(*Photo World Photos*)

In the South (outside Louisiana) the term "Anglo-Saxon" has more historical justification than in most other parts of the country, since, despite some important contributions of German blood (in Texas and the Valley of Virginia) and French blood (mainly in South Carolina), the white population is overwhelmingly and the Negro, to a considerable degree, of British origin. Moreover, the existing race barrier made the Nordic superstition welcome in the South. Candid Southern critics sometimes noted the tepid fondness for work of the local Anglo-Saxon. In Nueces County, Texas, it was unkindly asserted that the native white farmer used to "drive to town and just leave it to the Mex",¹ and what the Mexican was in the border counties of Texas, the Negro was in the rest of the South. But few Southerners were free enough from local race pride to take the line of Mr. William Watts Ball of South Carolina, who boldly asserted that "the state needs more white people, of any race with white skins, Nordics, Latins, Slavs, and if they should bring with them new religions, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Greek Orthodox, as well as Protestant, so much the better".² Mr. Ball is not a politician or a preacher, but a very independent newspaper editor. A politician has to make the best of it, and the best of it usually takes the form of advertising, as a profitable cost differential, the existence in the South of an "Anglo-Saxon" labour force, Anglo-Saxon in this context being translated by the business world as "docile"—a translation that, according to Mr. Jonathan Daniels, will soon be highly misleading.³

¹ *An American-Mexican Frontier, Nueces County, Texas*, by Paul Schuster Taylor, p. 68.

² *The State that Forgot. South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy*, p. 232.

³ The habit of using "Anglo-Saxon" as a selling point is rooted in southern habit. The Governor of Virginia (Mr. James H. Price), in his brief introductory note to the new state guide, says,

In the rest of the country the "race" line is drawn for reasons that have little to do with anthropology, but much to do with local politics and the local social structure. An Irish ancestry and a Catholic upbringing are great handicaps in social climbing in New England, less so in New York, and none at all in Maryland. In Minnesota, the Scandinavian rural majority is regarded with urban suspicion by the "American", Irish, and German business classes of the cities, and since they provide the majority of the servants and wage-workers, a Swedish Jonson may try to pass for a Scottish Johnson. But American society, in those parts of America that are not already mummified, is not fixed enough to present real barriers for long, and all immigrant groups, with two exceptions, find themselves accepted for all practical purposes as soon as they are really Americanized. The children of immigrants are anxious to cast off their links with the countries of their ancestors, anxious to show their command of the American language and their adaptation to American ways of life. In a moment of world crisis—like the present, for instance—ancestral memories awaken, but the 1940 Republican candidate for the presidency reached that eminence largely because he, of pure German origin, was more vigorous in his denunciations of Herr Hitler than were his Anglo-Saxon and Dutch rivals.

The two groups whose complete acceptance is so far postponed are the Negroes and the Jews. In many ways the Negroes are the most American of Americans, except for the small group of Indians. Despite the efforts of his intelligentsia to encourage African culture traits or to invent them, the Negro's speech, religion, social habits are all American; little

"Our people, largely of Anglo-Saxon blood, are friendly".
 "Although" may have dropped out, but otherwise the remark is rather baffling (*Virginia. A Guide to the Old Dominion*, p. v).

can be traced to an African origin. Compared with those in Africa, the West Indies, and South America, the Negroes of the United States are the most prosperous, the best-educated, the most advanced Negro population in the world.

As a group, the Negroes have become numerically less important; in 1930 they were only 9.7% of the population, and only two-thirds of the 12,000,000 were in the South. And the term "Negro" less and less means a person of pure African descent, since even if miscegenation has stopped (as is firmly but implausibly asserted), there is a social premium on light skins, so that even if white blood is not being added, it is being more and more widely distributed among the existing Negro population.

In many ways, the Negro's position has improved. A third of the race now lives in states which do not legally discriminate against Negroes; where they can vote, and so are worth cultivating; where the educational facilities, if not as good as they should be, are at any rate not as outrageously bad as they are in most Southern states. Each generation away from slavery has increased the adaptability of the race to a competitive life and diminished, if only slightly, the prejudice based on the former servile status.

But the American Negro is still the "under-privileged" American *par excellence*. Even in New York's Harlem, which has the greatest and most prosperous block, the Negro population has to pay higher rents and on the whole accept lower wages than the equivalent white classes. Although increasingly powerful politically, and so cultivated by the local machine politician, the Harlem Negro has only very recently begun to get his share of public amenities.¹ Most trades, even in the North, discriminate against him

¹ There was not a single new school built in rapidly-growing Harlem between 1918 and 1937.

and, indeed, in many places the chances of a Negro securing skilled work are less good than they were a generation ago. On the other hand, the great mass-production industries offer opportunities that did not exist a generation ago.

In the South, the Negro population is "kept in its place". It is true that that place is higher than it was a generation ago. Lynching is no longer regarded as tolerantly as it was, and has practically died out except in the most backward states. The Negro is still debarred, except in rare instances, from voting, by legal or illegal devices, and his chances of even-handed justice in criminal or civil controversies are seldom good. The educated Negro finds life in the South intolerable¹ unless his missionary vocation is very strong. Thus Illinois, with a Negro population of 330,000, has more than twice as many Negro lawyers, judges, and justices as seven southern states with a Negro population of nearly 6,000,000, and New York and Illinois, with a Negro population of 750,000, have nearly as many Negro doctors and dentists as the seven states mentioned above.

The Negro problem in the South is inextricably bound up with the general social and economic problems of that region. It has been shown, with a high degree of plausibility, that low cotton prices and lynchings go together, and the greatest set-back to Negro progress in recent times has not been the work of the Ku Klux Klan or of Negro-baiting politicians, but the collapse of cotton prices. In bad times, the Negro farmer or share-cropper, working on the narrowest margin, competing with ignorant and often violent poor whites, gets the worst of all deals. He does better

¹ Southern convention forbids giving the title "Mr." to a Negro. He may, as the anecdote has it, be called "Professor" without endangering white supremacy. Shops refuse to give the title to their Negro customers, thus benefiting Northern mail-order houses which have no such scruples.

if he has a white protector to whom he stands in the relation of a client, especially if, as is not infrequently the case, there is a blood tie between the two. Losing the most energetic members of his race to the northern cities, the southern Negro presents a problem in social engineering that, as intelligent Southerners are beginning to see, is the most important problem of a region over-provided with them.

Anti-Semitism in America is prevalent at all levels of society, but with very different degrees of intensity in different areas. In the South, where there are few Jews and where the Negro question forces unity on the ruling class, there is little, although one great *cause célèbre* at Atlanta, the Frank case, showed that there was some. Elsewhere, Jews of old and distinguished families are accepted on a footing of complete social equality, especially if there are no large bodies of Jews of recent immigrant stock to underline the differences between the dominant Gentile and the eastern European Jewish tradition. In small towns, if there are few Jews, there may be no anti-Semitism among the ruling classes but a good deal among the small shop-keeper class. The country-club, which is the centre of social life in the small town, may distinguish between one type of Jew and the other or, in effect, exclude all.¹

Jews were present in the colonies, especially in New York and Rhode Island, from the seventeenth century onwards, and they have played important parts in all departments of the national life since the Revolution. To the original Spanish and Portuguese Jews were added, in the first half of the nineteenth century, German Jews, including such distinguished families as those of the great judge, Louis Brandeis, and the Ochs family, owners of *The New York Times*. The anti-Semitic

¹ In Mr. John O'Hara's *Appointment in Samarra*, the country club of Gibbsville, the Pennsylvania coal town, where the Protestants and Catholics meet on semi-belligerent terms, excludes Jews.

policy of the Czar Alexander III, and worsening economic conditions in eastern Europe, led to a forced emigration of Polish and Russian Jews, as far apart in their social and intellectual habits from the older Jewish settlers as Sicilian peasant immigrants were from Roman nobles or English cardinals. Crowding into the eastern cities, especially into New York, becoming the chief labour force in the extremely badly-paid garment industry, numerous enough to make their own environment, the Jews of the lower East Side and then of the Bronx were as unpopular in New York as their Irish predecessors had been. As long as immigration was open, they were reinforced every year by scores of thousands of newcomers, and assimilation was made slower. But that assimilation has begun. Not only is Yiddish ceasing to be the home language of the New York Jews,¹ but, more striking still, the New York Jew is changing in physical character, getting taller and heavier. The power of the orthodox rabbis, with their odd forms of priestcraft, is rapidly disappearing. The old competitive individualism that led some observers to assert that no Jewish trade union could succeed has weakened, and no industry is more successfully unionized than the garment trades, and although the rank and file of these trades is now largely Italian, the leadership, both among employees and employers, is still in Jewish hands.

The usual fictions about Jewish control of economic life are even more palpable pieces of myth-making in America than in Europe. It is difficult to make plausible the view that international finance is a Jewish conspiracy in a city where, as in Rome, the really great banking houses, like the Chigi, Medici, and other papal dynasties, are ostentatiously Christian. Only three first-

¹ The New York (more exactly Brooklyn) pronunciation, e.g. "I saw (or seen) an erl-painting of an oil" (an oil-painting of an earl), is not Jewish in origin.

class American newspapers are owned by Jews.¹ Jewish control is more evident in the department-store field, at any rate in New York itself, and Jews, like Catholics, are numerous in those avocations that Protestant tradition regards as undignified or sinful: in acting, boxing, professional sport in general.² Only in the film industry can Jewish control be seen by any but the inspired eyes of Jew-haters. But even here the degree of Jewish influence in the industry is exaggerated. It is only on the financial side that the Jews are dominant, and, at the first great crisis of the industry, it was an Italian-American, Mr. Giannini of the Bank of Italy, who financed the silent screen, and, at a later crisis, the agent of Wall Street control was an Irish-American, who became ambassador to the Court of St. James's.

Like every other group differing conspicuously from the American norm, American Jews, like American Catholics, Mormons, Negroes, Shakers, Perfectionists, etc., etc., suffer for being "different". They suffer for being international revolutionaries, as well as for being international capitalists, for the rigour of their ritual observance, and for their atheism. They serve as a convenient whipping-boy all over the United States, except where they are provided with substitutes in that rôle, Negroes in the South, Irish in Massachusetts. Coming into a community still deeply impregnated with Christian tradition, they are often ill-at-ease and often tactless. Discarding in some degree their own traditions, they are not always considerate of the traditions of others, and the effectiveness of Communist and other Left propaganda has been greatly

¹ *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The owner of the last—and violently isolationist paper—has some Jewish blood but is an Episcopalian.

² Mr. George M. Cohan, the patriotic comedian, is, *pace* Dr. Goebbels, of Irish origin.

diminished by an excessively high proportion of Jewish leaders.¹

But the "Jewish problem" is largely an invention, an invention of angry, embittered, poor men and women, led largely by adventurers, clerical and lay; the lay leaders being the type that, in other circumstances, organizes bodies like the Ku Klux Klan or the Orange Order; the clerics like Father Coughlin and Father Brophy being unscrupulous demagogues careless of the fact that prudence, not to speak of other cardinal virtues, would keep wise Catholic priests from raising the question whether America should watch, with permanent suspicion, all groups outside the dominant religious tradition of the country.

A century ago, the American people was young, prolific, mainly British, overwhelmingly Protestant, and (Negroes apart) remarkably unified. Today the population is middle-aged,² moving rapidly towards stability if not sterility, certainly a good deal less than half British in origin, with a very great Catholic and large Jewish and Greek Orthodox minorities.

America is not likely to have any large new elements added to its population; the free distribution of public lands, long ended as an effective economic safety-valve, was formally ended in 1935, and the census of 1930 revealed that, for the first time since the white man landed on North America, the area of forest had increased. When the size of the country is considered, when variety of the racial origins of the people is considered, the degree of unity attained is marvellous, and the national motto, *e pluribus unum*, if still a prophecy, seems a plausible prophecy.

¹ "In some of these communities, the workers . . . were exclusively Gentile. The [new textile union] was headed by Jews. . . . As one worker said, 'They don't seem to realize we are Christians'." *Labor's Battle in the U.S.A. The Fight for Industrial Unionism*, by J. Raymond Walsh, p. 273.

² In 1850, the age of the average American was just under 20; in 1930, it was just under 40.



IV. WORKERS ALL

TOWN AND COUNTRY

- (1) *Ernie Galloway* (2) *Monsie, Ltd.*
 (3-4) *"Fortino" and Margaret Bowke-Watts*

CHAPTER II

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

THE United States is a federation, governed according to a written Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Each of the forty-eight states is theoretically sovereign and equal. What rights and powers have not been delegated to the federation remain to the states—or the people. But, not only have amendments to the original Constitution of 1787 increased federal power, but the permanent trend of judicial interpretation of the Constitution has been towards its extension, and as modern government grows more complex and more expensive, the Federal Government, by making grants of money—or conditions—has induced states to accept its lead, even in departments in which they are still nominally sovereign. It is, in fact, a fiction that the desert plateau of Nevada, with a population of less than 100,000, is a sovereign state in the sense that New York is. Nevada was invented as a state to give extra electoral votes to Lincoln in 1864, and it lives off dear silver and easy divorce, the price of both being, in fact, regulated by the legal activities of the Union and of less liberal states. Federalism still has meaning. It permits variations in domestic law. It permits far greater variations in the efficiency of public services than would be possible in a unitary country. It makes the enforcement of criminal law difficult, and thus justifies the increasing police activities of the Federal Government, of which the G men are the best publicized example. It produces such absurd situa-

tions as that which divides the sovereignty over the lands round New York harbour among three states, a situation the inconvenience of which co-operation between New York and New Jersey only partly removes : but the average American state has more formal than real power, is the decreasingly important partner in the federal relationship.

The Constitution of the United States is the oldest written constitution in the world and, in form, is still very like that which went into effect in 1789. In the 150 years that have elapsed, the territory of the United States has increased more than three-fold, the population more than fifty-fold, and the Constitution has stood this strain only by developing astonishing elasticity. The chief agent in this stretching process has been the Supreme Court, the most remarkable judicial body in the world. The experience of Switzerland and of other countries shows that a federation with a written constitution does not necessitate a court with power to determine the limits of federal power, or the meaning of the constitution. And the frequent English assumption that the Supreme Court only decides whether a power belongs to a state or to the union is absurdly wrong. The most important constitutional cases in modern times have nothing to do with a federal system as such. The Court decides the present meaning of terms like "due process of law" or "person", and as it refuses to treat these words merely in their legal technical sense, it is forced to give them a political, indeed, a philosophical, meaning. The Court scrutinizes state and federal legislation not to determine whether there are clauses in the Constitution justifying the power claimed, but in accordance with what it calls "the rule of reason", and the rule of reason means what any five justices out of nine think reasonable. "The Constitution is what the judges say it is." So declared Chief

Justice Charles Evans Hughes before he mounted the Bench.

One consequence of the power of the Supreme Court to decide what state or federal statutes are "reasonable", and so constitutional, is to make it very uncertain at any given moment what the law is. For until the Supreme Court has ruled on it, any statute may plausibly be asserted to be unconstitutional. Thus the Wagner Labor Act of 1935 was boldly asserted to be unconstitutional and it was ignored, until the Supreme Court decided in its favour in 1937. What had been very doubtful law became undoubted law overnight, and a body (the National Labor Relations Board) which had been of the mildest academic importance suddenly became central in New Deal policy.¹

In most matters an irreverent people, the Americans are the most reverent people in the world in political matters. They regard the Constitution as sacred, as a national talisman, and as President Roosevelt discovered when he attacked the Supreme Court in 1937, even the most popular politicians assail the sacred priesthood of the constitutional temple at their peril. That he was soon after given a chance to appoint a majority of the Court, and that the infallible interpreter of the Constitution promptly began to contradict its recent self, do not seem to have shaken the popular faith.

The Constitution provides for the distribution of the

¹ More startling still, a local statute passed by Congress in its capacity as legislator for the District of Columbia (the City of Washington), and held to be unconstitutional in the case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* in 1923, suddenly came alive, and overnight became law, though no machinery now existed for putting it into effect. The Supreme Court, in the spirit of Emerson and Whitman, showed its contempt for consistency and its readiness to contradict itself. In America the law is not only occasionally an ass, as in all countries, it is even more than in other countries a lottery.

federal power between the judicial, the executive, and the legislative powers, or so it is held. The judicial power is vested in the Supreme Court, whose membership and most of whose duties are defined by Congress, and in such subsidiary federal courts as Congress may determine. But all state courts are bound to enforce the "supreme law of the land", i.e. valid federal legislation and treaties. The executive power is vested solely in one man, the President, elected for a term of four years, in form indirectly, in fact directly by popular vote in each state. The legislative power is vested in a Congress of two Houses, of which no member may accept federal office and retain his seat.

The position of the President of the United States is double. He is the formal head of the nation, embodying the national sovereignty as a constitutional monarch does; he is also effective head of the executive. Indeed, since he can veto any Bill that cannot muster the support of two-thirds of each House of Congress, he has an important part in the legislative function too. His executive duties and powers are general and specific. Thus he is, by precise constitutional grant, commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, a power of vast importance in war-time. But, in addition to these specific powers, he has been held by the Courts to have rights arising from the fact that the executive power of the United States is entrusted to him. All federal officials, with very few exceptions, owe him implicit obedience, and can be dismissed by him should they fail in their duty to the President. And these powers he exercises, for the four years of his term, with few or no customary limitations. He has a right to do as he likes, within his wide powers, as long as he is President. Congress can hamper him by refusing money, for instance, but it cannot get rid of him except by impeachment, and that remedy has only been tried once, in the case of Andrew Johnson, and then failed.

The President's "Cabinet" is unknown to the law. The President appoints, removes, and controls the "principal officers" of the executive departments and has a right to demand their advice in writing or orally. But it is only custom that decrees that the President shall meet every week, or at other fixed times, the ten chief executive officers. There is no legal means of enforcing this custom and an American Cabinet, unlike a British, is purely the creation and creature of its chief. The President usually includes in it some eminent political leaders of his own party, but most of the Cabinet members may be chosen quite outside the usual political organizations.¹ An American Cabinet has no independent life or authority of its own, and the administration stands or falls by the success of its chief. There is no possibility of such a transfer of power as that which replaced Mr. Chamberlain by Mr. Churchill. And it is important to remember that since 1900 no congressional leader has been elected President.

In national politics, the President is always something of a new-comer compared with the congressional leaders. The proposal to let members of the Cabinet address either House of Congress has much to commend it, but the American system opposes great obstacles to any open and regular liaison between the President and Congress; there is a constant tug-of-war between the two powers, and closer unity can only be achieved to the loss of one party to the contest—usually the President.

The official residence of the President is an attractive though not a very large building, but "the White House" occupies a place in the hearts of the American people that no other residence, however splendid, could do.

¹ In 1940, only one member of the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, had ever been a member of Congress.

The President's salary (£15,000 a year) and a handsome allowance for entertainment make possible a dignified way of life for the head of the nation, but there is no possibility of such a parody of court life as was attempted in France under the Third Republic. The dignity of the greatest office in the world (as almost all Americans think the presidency to be) would not be added to by an Elysée or Rambouillet, any more than it would be by honorific titles. Except in the neighbourhood of Boston (where it means the head of Harvard University), "the President" means always the President of the United States—and it is title enough.¹

In the federal Congress, prestige and, to some extent, power, is very unevenly divided between the two Houses. The Lower House, with its short term of office (two years), its large membership, and its rigid rules, cannot compete for popular interest either with the Senate or with the President. As there is no Front Bench of Cabinet Ministers controlling the time of the House, that has to be done by an elaborate system of committees which decide what bills or motions shall be considered at all, and what killed off. But this decision is made in private and by men who have risen to power in the committee system mainly by seniority, by surviving many elections, and that means, in the American system, by representing the most party-ridden constituencies, the solid South, the rural North, regions where winds of controversy seldom blow. Congressional leaders tend, that is to say, to be out of touch with public opinion in the nation when any great issue is being debated, and congressional leaders know that, to borrow a phrase from a former member, "the world will little note nor long remember"

¹ The White House acquired this name after it had been burned by the British troops who occupied Washington in 1814. The walls were painted white to cover the marks of burning.

what they say or do. The dramatic possibilities of parliamentary life are almost entirely concentrated in the Senate. The House often does very useful work; it takes its duties as a law-making body more seriously than does the House of Commons; and it has no room for the mere passengers so numerous in the Mother of Parliaments; but the House never gives the nation a lead and is not often even a good sounding-board.

The Senate is a very different body. It is small; its ninety-six members know each other well; they are elected for six years, retiring in thirds every two years, so that two-thirds of the Senate at any moment is above vulgar preoccupation with re-election. The Senate, too, by its right to confirm treaties (by a two-thirds majority) and to confirm important presidential appointments, has duties that can be dramatized. As a body which never dies, it can set up those committees of enquiry which have no parallel in other parliaments, and which have done so much to expose abuses and reveal the *arcana* of government to the people. Small, long-lived, the Senate gets along with very elastic rules indeed. The rules of the House practically condemn to silence the new and unimportant representative, but in the Senate the youngest senator (as Mr. Smith discovered) has a chance to make a name of some kind. The kind depends on himself, not on the favour of the senior members. So in the perpetual conflict between the executive and the legislature, it is almost always the Senate that fights the battle against the White House, often with success, especially as the Senate usually only wishes to stop something being done.

The power and prestige of the Senate are, at first sight, hard to understand. That body is fantastically unrepresentative of the numerical majority of the American people, and yet it is more powerful than the House of Representatives, which is elected on a

reasonably just proportional basis. Each state has the same number of senators—two—so that Nevada, with less than 100,000 permanent inhabitants, has the same representation in the Senate as New York, with over 12,000,000. The western plains and mountain states, representing cattle and mining, are far more powerful in Congress than they should be, since they command as many Senate votes as the six most populous states. On the one hand are New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, California, Michigan, with 40,000,000 inhabitants—about a third of the population—or the other, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada with only 3,000,000 inhabitants but the same number of senators. Such an over-representation of one area accounts, for example, for the absurdly important rôle played by silver in American monetary policy. The silver states are rich in senators, and the United States as a whole has to pay for that fact. There are occasional revolts against the sectionalism of the Senate; heated Eastern protests against the cost of this formal equality between New York and Nevada; but they are less frequent than one would expect.

Not only do the American people, from their reverence for the Constitution, display a great tolerance of such anomalies, but the western Senators are often very eminent persons. Borah of Idaho, Walsh of Montana, Cutting of New Mexico, to name only the dead, were among the most respected senators of recent times. Points of view and interests in great regions ill-represented in the Senate, may find their spokesmen in the western senators. The locality rule¹ which effectively bars from active politics the minority party over great areas, makes it natural that the minority should look for its spokesmen in the senators or representatives of other regions. New York or Pennsylvania are not such homogeneous blocks of interest or sentiment

¹ See p. 47.

that all their inhabitants regret the existence of the "acreage states". And in so vast an area as the United States, minorities are fearful of arguments that may lead to too close an identification of the numerical with the political majority. There *are* possibilities of grave abuse. A small minority could prevent a needed amendment of the Constitution, and the nightmare of the prohibition amendment being maintained over the opposition of a great majority of the population was plausible before 1933; but, in fact, there was no attempt by the sparsely-inhabited and arid regions to oppose their will to that of the whole country.

A senator or congressman, however obscure he may be, cannot hope to reduce his work as a member of the Congress to the minimum attained by some opulent members for safe Conservative seats in England. No financial contributions to the local party funds will buy peace. Every member of Congress must expect to do a great deal of work for his constituents, individually and in groups. He must make representations to Government departments, entertain any reasonably representative group to lunch, act as a guide,¹ and answer innumerable letters. The very laborious nature of the duties of members of both Houses of Congress is recognized (by Congress) in several ways. Each senator and representative, in addition to a salary of \$10,000 a year (subject to slight reductions at the moment), is provided with a handsome secretarial allowance and with offices. The offices are located in two great buildings near the Capitol, the Senate Office Building being connected with the Senate wing of the

¹ A representative told this writer that, in recent times, the easiest and most effective way of winning the goodwill of visitors with children was to take them to the basement of the Department of Justice and show the shooting-gallery where the G men practise. A few spent bullets, fired by G men, distributed among the boys, win the loyalty of voters as effectually as beer did in the days of Eatanswill or hard cash in modern Pennsylvania.

Capitol by a little underground railway, rides on which delight the children of all ages. Representatives, being much more numerous and usually younger, walk through a tunnel to their building. This elaborate and expensive organization is a necessary part of a system that makes the senator or representative not a mere automatic voting machine, but a kind of consul for his state or district.

State and city government imitate the main lines of the federal structure. The executive is normally concentrated in one officer, a governor of a state, a mayor of a city. But there are very real and substantial differences between a state governor and a president. All federal officials are servants of the President; he appoints and removes them, subject in the case of the lower ranks to civil service regulations that give them security of tenure. But some of the most important state officials, in nearly all states, are directly elected by the people and are not in any sense servants of the governor. In New York, Governor Alfred E. Smith managed to do a great deal in the way of developing a state cabinet system, but the most highly integrated executive state government is still much less united than that of the United States.

State legislatures are generally modelled on Congress; there are two houses, one of them called the Senate. In some states, the Senate is more truly representative than the lower house and, in general, state representation is far less justly apportioned than is representation in Congress. There is often a permanent clash between the governor elected by the whole state and the legislature which is usually elected by districts overweighted in favour of the rural areas. Then there is too little business to justify constant sessions; in some states the legislature meet only every second year and, if the executive government of states tends to be poorly integrated, the legislative

activity is intermittent. And it is hard to find responsible and able people to spend much time in the overgrown villages that the average state capitals are.¹ State governments vary greatly in efficiency. In some states long control by one party and a series of exceptional party leaders have given state government a unity and efficiency that might surprise the student who confined his attention to the defects of the machinery. Thus the La Follette dynasty in Wisconsin and the succession of exceptionally able Democratic governors in New York (Messrs. Smith, Roosevelt and Lehman) raised the standards of efficiency in both states to remarkably high levels. Integration may come from less admirable causes. As governor and as senator, the late Huey Long made Louisiana a highly integrated, indeed, a one-man state, but although that system had its deplorable side, it should be remembered that the "Kingfish" had his virtues as well as his vices.²

Municipal government is less uniform in organisation than state government, yet it tends to conform to the standard type. A mayor, who is much more like a president than the average state governor is, and two assemblies made up the normal city government a generation ago, but there is an increasing tendency to one-chamber government. More novel variations are the "commission government," in which a small council exercises legislative and executive functions; and the "city manager" system, in which all administration is in the hands of a professional administrator and the mayor is merely an honorific officer presiding

¹ Jealousy of the urban oligarchies led many states a century ago to put the capital city anywhere but in the chief city. In only a few states do the real and the political capitals coincide. Boston, Indianapolis, Des Moines are exceptions. The rule is represented by the fact that New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans are not the capitals of the states of which they are the chief cities.

² In Nebraska, under the leadership of Senator Norris, a small one-chambered legislature has been set up.

over the council. But sad experience has shown that admirable as the city manager system may be in the hands of a great administrator like Dr. Clarence Dysktra, it is compatible with the successful running of a corrupt machine, as the history of Kansas City has shown.

Rural government is the dark area of American administration. It is, in general, slow, highly political and unenlightened. Few rural authorities rise above mediocrity, and while there are states and cities with achievements that any country might envy, there is no reason to look to rural America for administrative lessons and, except in the New England town meeting, little reason to look for lessons of democratic polity.¹

The American political scene is dominated by the two major parties, Democratic and Republican. The United States is a republic and a democracy, and whatever meaning ingenious political commentators have managed to read into these words, they mean the same thing to the average man. The Republican party is so called because it is the party to which Republicans belong, and so with the Democratic party and the Democrats.

Historically, there *were* differences between the parties. The Democratic party was the party of low tariffs and states' rights. It was overwhelmingly strong in the old slavery states, not only because the Republicans were the party which had defeated and in part ruined those states, but because, as producers of cotton and tobacco for export, they had nothing to gain by high tariffs and had reason to fear that extensions of federal power would be at the expense of the class and race structure built up in the generation that followed the Civil War.

¹ New England towns may be rural or urban, and are governed by an annual meeting that elects officers, decides on the tax rate and, in general, acts like an Athenian or Swiss popular assembly.

The Republican party believed in high tariffs much more firmly than did the Democratic party in free trade, but the old issue of a "tariff for revenue only" is dead. Today all American parties are protectionist and, where local products are concerned, there is nothing to choose between a Democrat and a Republican, but on general questions of this type the completely credulous and uncritical protectionist is commoner in the Republican than in the Democratic ranks. It is probable that if a Republican Secretary of State, say Mr. Stimson, had tried to put through Mr. Hull's trade-treaty programme, he would have been more opposed by a large and important section of his own party than Mr. Hull has been hampered by dissidence among Democrats.

The states' rights issue is even more artificial. When the federal power has been in other and possibly hostile hands, all parties and sections, under varying pretexts, have been in favour of limiting federal power; when federal power has been theirs to use, they have been in favour of using it. On the whole, the Democrats have in the past been in favour of states' rights because they have been the opposition party for most of the time since 1860, and because their stronghold, the South, had more to fear (or its ruling class had more to fear) from federal action than it had to hope. But some of the boldest extensions of federal authority have been the work of Democratic Presidents like Cleveland and Wilson, and Mr. Roosevelt is a spiritual heir of Jackson, if not of Jefferson, in his bold attacks on constitutional formality.

If American parties are not based on doctrine, what are they based on? On *sectional* interest and on *sentiment*. For three or four generations there has not been available in America the raw materials of politics as it is understood in other countries. No party like the old German Social Democratic party could arise

in America, since all were democrats and none were socialists. But Americans in textile regions like New England who had been profoundly influenced by the New England moral attitude, naturally differed from Americans in cotton-growing regions like Georgia, whose religious tradition was more violently emotional and less intellectual. Even before the Civil War, various forces, slavery, disputes over foreign policy and over land policy had created the system which still functions, *i.e.* a system whereby one national party predominates in one area, no matter what the social structure of the area may be. In England wealthy suburbs are invariably Conservative and mining districts almost invariably Labour, but in America both suburbanites and miners in one region will belong to one party—or at any rate did so before the upheaval of Mr. Roosevelt's "New Deal". The most striking example of this complete local predominance is "the Solid South". Until 1928 it was axiomatic that at least ten states in the South always voted the Democratic ticket, no matter who was the candidate or what the "issue". Slavery, the Civil War and its sequel "Reconstruction", made the theme of southern politics "white supremacy" and made the Democratic party the instrument of that supremacy. All classes in the South (excluding Negroes) voted Democratic; party conflict was within the party, but, except for a brief period in the 'nineties when the "Populists" threatened the old order, no party but the Democratic had any but the most formal existence.

Less obvious than the "Solid South" was the "Solid North". No region was quite as completely one party as Georgia or Mississippi, but over most of the rural North and Middle West the average man was, except in moments of extreme economic irritation, a good Republican. There were exceptions, but these were explicable on historical grounds. In most big

cities the proletariat had a weakness for the Democratic party. But the proletariat in Philadelphia was as firmly riveted to the Republican party by the local Republican machine as was the proletariat of New York to the Democratic party by the slightly less corrupt local Democratic machine.¹ American citizens, by birth or adoption, voted according to the local political history of their city or state. Thus, in Indiana and Illinois, the southern parts of the states, peopled from the South, were the strongholds of the Democratic party in these states. Blocks of immigrants tended to have their own party affiliations. The Irish were overwhelmingly Democratic, and even today, though eminent Irish Republicans are not unknown, they are uncommon. To find a Danaher or a Donovan high in the ranks of the Republicans, locally or nationally, is slightly surprising, if not shocking. Italians and French-Canadians were, on the whole, Republicans, as were, of course, the Negroes, while the Germans were fairly evenly divided. One consequence is that when the Democratic party has been in national office, those groups, mainly Irish and Southern, who clung to the party in dark and evil days, have reaped their reward. A Tennessee lawyer settled in North Dakota, an Irish lawyer practising in Wisconsin, found themselves in important federal office and in a position of real power because, until the landslide of 1932, few voters, not either Irish or Southern, wasted their time *in the ranks of the hopeless Democratic party in these states.*

The complete domination of American politics by two major parties based on historical, not contemporary, issues has many odd results. But the fact that the great prize of American politics, the presidency, can only be won by one man, forces formal unity on the party every four years. The Republican and Democratic

¹ Commonly known as Tammany Hall.

parties may, indeed, be defined as groups of persons united to choose presidential candidates.

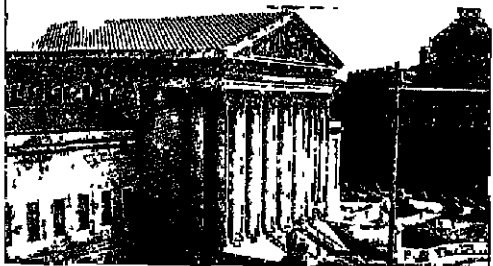
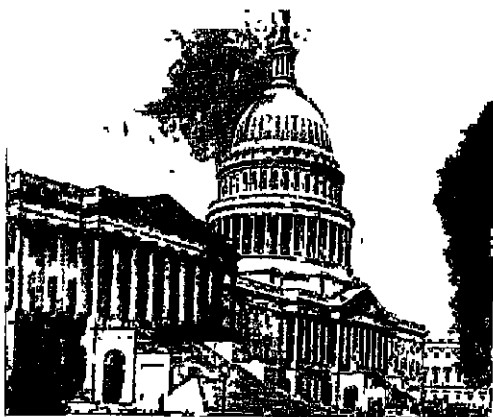
The American political system reaches its highest degree of national integration every four years. Normally, a winner in the presidential election brings into office many minor politicians whom the electorate would have rejected had they run on their own merits. This is one reason for the fact that it is usual for the Congressional election which takes place in the off-year (two years after the presidential election) to show losses by the party in power in the White House. The minority party, too, is usually relatively stronger in off-years both in Congressional and local elections.¹

The refusal of the American voter to stray from the two-party fold is the main justification for the degree to which the states regulate the internal affairs of the parties. Not only are such details of party organization as the raising and spending of party funds regulated to a degree that a party office in Britain would find insulting, if not crippling, but the choice of party candidates is regulated by law. This is done by the "primary" system. A "primary" election is that in which the delegates to the party convention which chooses the party candidates are themselves chosen. But in most states it has been replaced by the "direct primary", in which not delegates, but actual candidates, are chosen. The American elector, some

¹ Some of the loss of Democratic strength in 1938 was due to the fact that the party's greatest vote-getter, Mr. Roosevelt, was not running. The interweaving of national and local politics has often had unfortunate local results. Many voters supported bad local candidates as an incident in their support of the national ticket, a state of affairs which benefited the great city machines. A reform adopted in some states is to separate the local elections from the national and state elections; thus the Mayor of New York is elected every fourth odd-numbered year, while the presidential election is every fourth even-numbered year. Thus has been prevented the dilemma of a voter having to choose between two tickets. But in states where the local legislature is normally in complete agreement with the dominant machine, the confusion of national and local issues is too useful to be made less natural.

months before the final election, is given a chance to vote in an election *conducted by the state* to decide who shall be the Democratic or Republican candidates for the offices falling vacant. In an ordinary direct primary the voter has to declare what party he belongs to, and some idea of the strength of the parties can be got by the numbers "registering" as Democrats and Republicans. Under this system the voter only chooses among the would-be candidates of one party. The winners are then entered on the ballot paper under the regular party name or emblem and, in states where one party is overwhelmingly strong, the nomination is equivalent to election. Thus the real contests of programmes and individuals take place within the nominal bounds of the dominant party, and the meaninglessness of party names is both made greater and more tolerable. Instead of trying to start a new party, the discontented elements try to win for their candidates the official party label. The direct primary thus tends to diminish the chances of third-party voting. But as those chances are in any case slight, the direct primary does give some reality to political life in regions where one-party rule threatened to kill it. The last development of the direct primary is the "open primary", where all voters, regardless of party affiliations, vote in the same election. This aids in the final reduction to absurdity of the party system, since there is no pretence that the voters in the open primary are held together by any doctrinal bond. The primary election, in this case, reveals its true character. Like the first and second ballot in France under the old régime, it serves to eliminate weak candidates and allows sections to decide on their final plan of campaign.¹

¹ A good example of the blurring of party lines which the primary can produce is furnished by California, whose senior senator, Mr. Hiram Johnson, has been nominated by the primary electors of both the Republican and Democratic parties.



V. GOVERNMENT

1. THE CAPITOL
(General Photographic Agency)

2. THE SUPREME COURT
(Sport and General Press Agency)

3. WHITE HOUSE
(General Photographic Agency)

WASHINGTON

The one case where the primary system has failed to work is the presidential election. Many states have presidential primaries, but they are, in fact if not in form, merely informative. They reveal what support the leading candidates for the nomination can command some months before the Conventions meet. This news is interesting, but not decisive. Apart from a President in office running for re-election, it is rare for an aspirant for the presidential nomination to be well enough known to command general support all over the country. So the Convention is faced with the task of deciding among a number of "possibles"; it is seldom or never given a decisive lead. Were it to follow the primaries blindly, it would often find itself saddled with a candidate who was merely the strongest of a weak lot and debarred from choosing the candidate who, in fact, best represented the views of the party majority or seemed to experienced politicians to have the most reasonable chance of winning. The national Conventions must be left liberty to choose. This liberty is merely a recognition of the fact that the American system seldom does and, given the size of the country and the division of political interest between state and federal governments, seldom can provide obvious national leaders imposing themselves on the party—and the nation—by their intrinsic weight. Once nominated, the presidential candidate has to be "sold" to the nation as a national figure, a feat *that occasionally baffles even the most skilled publicity men.*

The presidential election is formally *indirect*. That is, the President is legally chosen by electors who, in turn, are chosen by the voters of each state. Each state has as many electors as it has senators and representatives. In fact, the so-called "electoral college" (there is no national electoral college, each state has its own) merely ratifies the decision of the

electorate in favour of the presidential candidates of the parties.¹

The indirect election of the President has no important consequences, but his election by states, instead of on a national poll, may have. For a party carrying a majority in the electoral colleges by narrow margins may win the presidency from a party carrying a minority of the electoral votes of the states but by very large local majorities. The wishes of a large majority of the voters of the United States would thus be made ineffective, because this majority was geographically concentrated. In recent elections the victories of Mr. Hoover in 1928 and of Mr. Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936 were so overwhelming that the problem did not arise. But Mr. Smith in 1928, Mr. Hoover in 1932, and Mr. Landon in 1936 all polled a far greater number of votes than the mere result, by states, would suggest. Mr. Landon, for example, polled over 16,000,000 votes, but carried only two small states.

Congressional leaders do not often become presidential candidates, mainly because of the working of the "locality rule". By constitutional proviso, every senator and representative must be a resident of the state he represents and, by custom, the representatives must be residents of the districts they represent. This excludes from Congress men whose party is locally in a minority. They cannot be elected at home or be candidates elsewhere. Thus in New York City, overwhelmingly Democratic but full of rich, able, and

¹ Some states recognize this fact by putting on the ballot paper the names of the presidential candidates, not those of the "electors". In a state which still puts the electors' names on the ballot paper, a party convention recently adjourned after warmly endorsing the presidential candidate of the party, and quite forgetting to nominate the electors who would have to translate this support into legal form. The error was discovered and the gap filled by the standing committee in an hotel bedroom in the early hours of the next morning. Nothing could have made plainer the farcical character of the "electoral college".

ambitious Republicans, the possibility of congressional honours are denied to all but the residents of the "silk-stocking districts". In New York state no Republican has any hope of a seat in the Senate—and no right to represent another state. The locality rule itself is enough to account for the fact that Presidents and Cabinet members are so seldom chosen from Congress.¹

American political history is littered with the wrecks of parties which were based on "rational" plans of political organization, but no third party has succeeded in becoming a rival of the two dominant parties. Third parties serve a useful purpose in stimulating the old parties; they sometimes serve local interests or sentiments effectually, and they give comfort to the too-systematically-minded, but that is all. They fall into two classes: parties making an ineffective national appeal on behalf of some panacea, and local parties, with perhaps a pretence of national appeal, but fundamentally expressing some local idiosyncrasy which even the extraordinarily elastic national parties have not been able to cater for.

The most respectable of the minor national parties is the Socialist party. Its high-water mark was

¹ The twentieth amendment to the Constitution has greatly lessened the bad effects of one piece of constitutional mechanism. Until the Norris amendment (called after its author, the venerable Senator Norris of Nebraska) went into effect in 1937, the President and the Congress elected in November did not take office until March of the following year: indeed, Congress did not *need* to meet until December of the following year, thirteen months after being elected. In the four months between November and March, a President and a Congress, both of whom might have been repudiated by the country, stayed in office with full legal if not moral power. It was in this interregnum, of the so-called "lame-duck" Congresses, that some of the oddest and most scandalous legislation was passed. The Norris amendment has reduced this period to two months. The drawbacks of the old system were made most desperately evident in the four months that followed the election of Lincoln in 1860 and that of Mr. Roosevelt in 1932; in each case a great crisis was made more severe by the nominal legal power being in the hands of men repudiated by the voters.

reached in 1912, but it has never gained any serious mass support, and its local successes have been in regions like Milwaukee dominated by the old German Social-Democratic tradition, or like New York City, by Jewish Left-wing movements. To-day the Socialist party has an eminently respectable and respected leader in Mr. Norman Thomas, but it is of no political importance, having even lost control of its sole important municipal stronghold in Milwaukee.

The Communists, realizing the barrenness of pure politics, have devoted their energies not to getting a few more or a few less impressive—and futile—votes, but to influencing more important bodies. The same view of the proper tactics of a small party was successfully exemplified by the Anti-Saloon League before the Communist party existed. The old Prohibition party had in vain called on the Evangelical voters of America to vote the straight Prohibition ticket and make an end of the Demon Rum. All but the most zealous dry voters refused to "waste" their votes. The Anti-Saloon League made no attempt to break the monopoly of the existing major parties; it offered its support to candidates of either party who were sound on the drink question, or it remained neutral, if both candidates were sound. American politicians of the old parties will cater to any organized group of voters which can promise aid or threaten defections—even groups organized on a political basis. Each party is a broker which, within very wide limits, will take orders from the most promising clients and will try to take orders from all of them at the same time.

Another type of small party is localized in one state or region. In some states of the North-West, local third parties have had longer life. The Progressive party in Wisconsin (led by the La Follette family), the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota, and the Non-D (B.)

Partisan League in North Dakota have all managed to survive more than one or two elections. But recent events have made it clear how much the Progressive party owed to the late Robert Marion La Follette, how much the Farmer-Labor party to the late Floyd Olson. Neither, it is now evident, can work effectively except in more or less open alliance with the Democratic party, and the leaders of the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota openly work as part of the Republican party in national politics.¶

Haunting the minds of critics of the American party system, is the vision of an American equivalent of the British Labour party. That vision has never been embodied in any concrete shape that need worry the professional politician. For one thing, the indispensable trade-union basis is lacking. The American trade-union movement has never attained the strength and unity of the British, and it is at present divided into two bitterly hostile groups, with some neutral unions watching the issue of the battle.

The older group is the American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.). The A.F.L. is a very loose federation; its main business is to safeguard the interests of the skilled workers. Its basic philosophy is completely untainted by socialism, and far from wishing to extinguish private property, it extends the idea of private property to the worker's job. The skilled worker has a right to be sure that he will not be undercut in wages, hours, or conditions by other workers—and that the right of a skilled man, e.g. a carpenter, to do the work of a carpenter, shall not be made less valuable by the competition of a less-skilled man or a man of a different craft. So the main business of the A.F.L. is to decide what unions, in what industries, shall do what work, to issue "charters", and to decide jurisdictional disputes. It is not an instrument of class conflict.

Given this bias, the A.F.L. was necessarily slow and incompetent in its efforts to unionize the great mass-production industries, where its ideal of the skilled worker's right to the specialized job had no place. It made an attempt to unionize steel in 1919 and failed; it made fresh attempts to unionize steel, automobiles, and other great mass production industries in 1933 and 1934, when the coming of the Roosevelt administration gave political support to the trade-union movement. Its efforts were successful in only a small degree, and the leadership in the movement was taken over by the head of the only great industrial union in the federation, the United Mine Workers' chief, Mr. John L. Lewis. At first the C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization) worked from within the A.F.L., but a clash between the interests and bias of the old craft unions and the new mass unions was certain to come. The C.I.O. became the "Congress of Industrial Organizations", a rival federation of unions, and became associated in the public mind with the Roosevelt administration. Funds from the C.I.O., or from the United Mine Workers, helped to fill the Democratic war-chest in the presidential election of 1936, and the triumphant return of Mr. Roosevelt was followed by the great sit-down strikes in the automobile plants in Detroit and by the validation, by the Supreme Court, of the Wagner Act, setting up the N.L.R.B. (National Labor Relations Board). F.D.R.,¹ C.I.O., N.L.R.B. were linked in the public mind. But the C.I.O. victories in Detroit did not extend to the Ford plants, and although United States Steel, Jones and Laughlin, and others recognized C.I.O. unions, it was defeated in its attack on "Little Steel", and Mr. Ford's agents continued to persuade his workmen, by the traditional means of spies, thugs, blackjacks, and blacklists, that

¹ "F.D.R.," the initials of Mr. Roosevelt.

they had no need of unions in their relations with their paternal employer. The war between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. took on more and more the appearance of a personal feud between Mr. Lewis and Mr. William Green, head of the A.F.L. There was general approval of Mr. Roosevelt's "plague-on-both-your-houses" speech, and the reaction towards the Republican party, marked by the congressional and local elections of 1938, was also a reaction against the C.I.O. In Michigan, Governor Frank Murphy, who had refused to use force to expel the strikers from the plants, was defeated, as were many Left-wing candidates elsewhere. The relations between the Roosevelt administration and the C.I.O. grew cooler, especially after the outbreak of war in Europe and the Communist *volte-face*. Many C.I.O. unions were susceptible to Communist or semi-Communist influence—far more, indeed, than the mere number of Communist members made plausible, and the party turned from its active foreign policy to preaching indifference to all the issues involved in the "imperialist war". As the Roosevelt administration more and more leaned towards aid to the Allies, the extreme Left of the C.I.O. found itself in open opposition to the President, in uneasy alliance with the Nazi and Fascist organizations. It became evident, however, that the mass of the workers followed Mr. Roosevelt rather than Messrs. Lewis, Quill, and Bridges, and the dream of a union-dominated Democratic party was over. And there was more and more reason to expect some kind of reunion between the old A.F.L. and the C.I.O., the members of both bodies being far more ready to make peace than were the leaders.

In fact, American public opinion is still suspicious of trade unions, still suspicious of forms of social legislation that deny the tacit rural premise that unemployment and poverty are normally the fruit of

personal ill-doing and to be dealt with in terms of charity, not of right. But the New Deal innovations, the deliberate fostering of trade unions, the introduction of unemployment insurance, the acceptance of the idea of "social security" are here to stay. They have been provided by one of the two great capitalist parties and reluctantly accepted by the other, and the American worker is not as yet asking for more than the great capitalist parties will, if forced, give.

For generations the problems of an urban society were met, if at all, by the work of the great city "machines". These organizations gave, as charity, substitutes for the social services of the modern State, substitutes paid for by money raised by taxation or by corrupt sale of public assets and valuable favours to all kinds of buyers, from great businesses to cheap prostitutes and petty gamblers. In return for coal and blankets and picnics, the machines asked only for votes, which they transformed into vendible power. The growth of social services in the last ten years has made it harder for the machines to win popular support merely by occasional hand-outs. In the same way, the "voluntary" taxation of the prosperous to supply "community chests" and the like has given way to formally more coercive taxation designed to minimize the effects of unemployment, disease, and other misfortunes. More and more, unofficial instruments of social relief have become official, and as Government servants become more a professional class, and as the "spoils system"—the rewarding of political service by jobs on the public pay-roll—has become less and less important, the character of American Government, local and central, has become more sharply contrasted with the picture of it painted by national tradition, but the discrepancy is not yet obvious enough for the American people to insist on a recasting of the American party system.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION

AMERICA is a Protestant country, despite the fact that in nearly all states outside the South and in three Southern states¹ the numerically strongest individual denomination is the Catholic Church. America is not formally Protestant—that is, a majority of its population are not enrolled members of some Protestant denomination—but it is Protestant in a far deeper sense than a mere statistical statement can convey.² The whole background of American history, with local exceptions in Maryland, Louisiana, California, New Mexico, is Protestant; the dominant *ethos* is Protestant; the attitude of Catholics and Jews is profoundly affected by this saturation of the national life in the Protestant tradition. That tradition is hard to define, but it is impossible not to recognize it. It emphasizes preaching rather than the sacraments, the Bible rather than church organization, and, since the middle of the nineteenth century, good works, or in modern terms “service”, rather than doctrine. The identification of sanctity with success, “grace and gear”, as Burns puts it, attributed by some hostile historians to the early Calvinists, can be more safely attributed to modern American popular religion. “On the sub-church level, Protestantism tends to merge with the wide-spread secular idealism of the nation, which wishes to be good but does not

¹ Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas.

² The Protestant churches have 33,500,000 members over thirteen years of age.

claim to be religious. Indeed, the difference between the church and the 'world' has largely disappeared. Rotarians and K'wanians are interchangeable with the priesthood."¹ Secular and religious views of life are mingled; religion helps to make men "good", i.e., honest and non-criminal, and to diminish adolescent indiscipline, so it is supported by financial contributions, sometimes by personal service, and by advertisements calling attention to its benefits in the local press, paid for by the local business community. In some regions, this type of religion is a more or less conscious form of insurance against social discontent. But the boy in the Hancock shoe factory who was hostile to all attempts to start a trade union branch because "Mr. Pugh is a Christian man" ² is commoner in the South than anywhere else—and not so common in the South as he was.

Even on the service level, the American Protestant churches are not now the safe and unquestioned bulwarks of the established order they were assumed to be a generation ago. As religion became less concerned with the next world, and as this world became less tolerable after the great depression, the American Churches became centres of social criticism, much to the disgust of many leading laymen. Theological colleges like Union Seminary, New York, were accused of harbouring Communists and preaching Communism; the lead in many Left-wing activities was taken by pastors or ex-pastors; the organizer of the Automobile Workers in Detroit, Mr. Homer Martin, and the permanent leader of the American

¹ H. Paul Douglas, "The Protestant Faiths", in *America Now: An Inquiry into Civilization in the United States*, by Thirty-six Americans, edited by Harold E. Stearns, p. 509.

² *These Are Our Lives, As Told by the People and Written by Members of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia*, p. 232.

Socialist party, Mr. Norman Thomas, had both been clergymen.

The clash between the theological and service ideas of the Christian message was made most dramatically evident in the field where American Protestantism had invested a great part of its emotional, as well as physical capital. The United States were in the Protestant mission-field what France was in the Catholic, the chief source of men, money, and ideas. But what was, two generations ago, a simple message to the heathen sitting in outer darkness, became less simple as mission work, especially in China, had more evident temporal than spiritual success. American missionaries were among the more or less conscious makers of the Chinese Revolution, and American sympathetic interest in China owed far more to the missionary connection than to business interests. But the missionaries, at any rate the missionaries sent out by the Northern churches, grew less and less confident that their duty was simply to replace the error of Chinese religion by the truth of orthodox Christianity. It was not merely a question of adapting Chinese customs to Christian ends (as the early Jesuits had done), but of letting the Chinese go to heaven their own way—and in this world—with sympathetic understanding of the common human purpose. To this view of missionary duty, preached by Mrs. Pearl Buck, the orthodox Presbyterians led by Dr. Machen opposed the old view that the aim of the missionary was to bring to the ignorant heathen the saving truth. But Dr. Machen was beaten in his own denomination; the rulers of the Church of Jonathan Edwards were more concerned with good works than with sound doctrine.¹

¹ The attitude of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr is part of a general attitude, not peculiar to him, which reveals the influence of Karl Barth and his neo-Calvinism. This school, while as active in social reform movements as the optimists of the "service" school, does

A powerful force making the American Protestant churches centres of current controversy has been pacifism. In all Protestant Churches pacifism, in the years following the Great War, became strong, and in some it became dominant. The excesses of clerical belligerency in the last war were repeatedly repented of, and a new orthodoxy, committing the American Churches to the Quaker position, was, if not imposed on, at least powerfully suggested to the average pastor by the religious press. As the world crisis grew more acute, so did the controversy over the rightfulness of war, and there seemed to be a dominant view that war was always wrong or that the conditions for a just war were never or hardly ever present.¹ Against this view, individual Church leaders like Dr. Niebuhr protested, but such pacifist leaders as Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison seemed to have the majority opinion with them.

It must be realized, however, that the opinion of the laity is not necessarily represented either by the Church Press or the Church leaders, and when Church opinion presumes too far on the identity of its standards with those of the laity, it may suffer grave reverses. The most conspicuous example of this is the repeal of prohibition. The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act were the most conspicuous triumphs of American Protestantism in the political field. The Baptists, Methodists, and the other evangelical denominations, had long banned the use of beverage alcohol; some also banned tobacco; a few banned coffee and tea. These religious taboos were justified

not share their optimism or indifference to doctrine. Christianity is not, in their view, a mere matter of good social conduct, although they are equally opposed to the old view that religion has nothing to do with social conduct.

¹ It was under this form that pacifism was preached in Catholic periodicals where the straightforward pacifist position would have been heretical.

on hygienic and economic grounds, and politicians were frightened into compliance by the threat of the magnificently organized voting block at the disposal of the Anti-Saloon League. The "experiment noble in purpose" failed, but the Protestant Churches refused to admit it. At last the politicians defied them, and federal prohibition came to an end in 1933. In that defeat the organized Protestant lobby lost a great deal of its prestige and power. Yet the states and local government areas where prohibition, more or less rigid, more or less formal, survives, are pretty uniformly strongholds of the old-time religion. In ethical questions, where powerful appetites or interests are not too clearly antagonized, American public opinion is still profoundly affected by the leaders of Church opinion and by slogans and ideals which revive memories of the national religious tradition. This is perfectly well known to politicians and to all who attempt to influence the public mind; from the Bible and from popular hymns come the best raw materials for mass emotion.

Of course, the Protestant Churches differ very greatly within the general common frame of reference. They are split, for example, on the fundamentalist question, on the degree to which belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, in Hell, in Heaven, perhaps, in extreme cases, in the existence of a personal God, are essential to the character of a true Christian. The South is the stronghold of fundamentalism. Elsewhere fundamentalist spokesmen, like Dr. Riley in Minneapolis or Dr. Reisner in New York, were the known leaders of a desperate battle. In the South, the fundamentalist chiefs are leading members of communities which believe, or profess to believe, as they themselves do. In the South, too, the impact of the "social Gospel" is less felt; religion is personal, is seldom at odds with the social order and is inclined to

leave to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, except in matters of personal habit like drinking. In the South, what may be called the more sophisticated versions of evangelical religion are weak. There are important Presbyterian and Episcopalian groups, especially in the richer and more powerful classes, but the Methodists and Baptists are in the vast majority. Of four million white Church members, these two denominations account for three and a half million. Of the state legislators for whom records were available, two-thirds were either Baptists or Methodists. And even among the rulers of the economic world in a new city like Atlanta, of ten business magnates whose religious affiliations were known, there were "5 Methodists, 1 Baptist, 3 Presbyterians, and 1 Episcopalian", while in the old city of Richmond, Virginia, of ten business leaders there were "7 Episcopalians, 1 Methodist, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Catholic, not a Baptist".¹

Outside the South the case is less simple. In all the big cities the strongest individual denomination is the Catholic, and the stronghold of Protestantism is in the villages and small towns, less than on the isolated farms and much less than in the big towns. Nor is that all: denominations like the Baptists and Methodists,² which are fundamentalist in the South, are much more liberal in the North. Doctrine is less stressed and the differences between the denominations less dwelt on. A bigger rôle is played by bodies like the Unitarians and Congregationalists in New England and by Presbyterians in the Middle West. These (and the Protestant Episcopal Church) are "smart" in a sense that Baptists and Methodists are not and do not attempt to be. The difference is easily seen in the

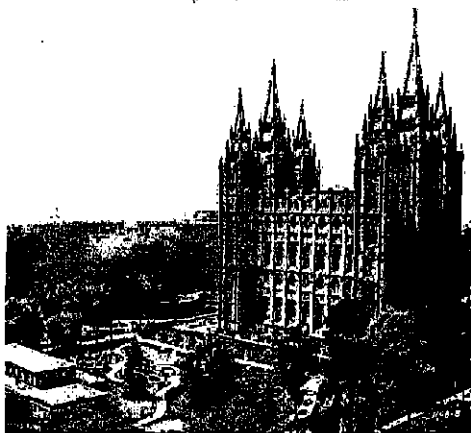
¹ Jonathan Daniels, *A Southerner Discovers the South*, p. 292.

² The Methodist Episcopal Church South has joined a united Methodist Church. The Baptists are still divided into several organizations.

difference in content, in bias, and indeed in paper and typography, between the Church papers of the sections.

The place of the Protestant Episcopal Church deserves special attention. It is the American branch of the Anglican communion, but its position is unlike that of its mother. Nowhere is it even the nominal religious home of the majority of the population. It has poor congregations and many mission stations, but its parishes cannot be the community centres they sometimes are in English slum areas. It is everywhere a Church which it is socially profitable to belong to, even though it has not a monopoly of smartness. In New York it is just as good to be a member of the Dutch Reformed Church; in Boston to be a Unitarian or a Congregationalist; in Baltimore or New Orleans to be a Catholic. But St. Thomas's Church on Fifth Avenue, New York, represents the fashionable side of the denomination, and the unfinished cathedral of St. John the Divine, the attempt to be to the non-Jewish and non-Catholic minority of New Yorkers what St. Paul's is to Londoners. The Protestant Episcopal Church has within it an extra cause of conflict, the resistance of those elements (especially strong in the South) who cling to the "Protestant" in the title against what they deem the aggressiveness of Anglo-Catholicism. With this extra complication, the denomination shows all the usual aspects of American organized religion: the increased emphasis on social duty; the increased strain of controversies over pacifism, capitalism, and the like; the continued conflict over the place of doctrine in the Christian life.

It was said by a wit who wished to account for the decline of orthodoxy in Boston that "no man who had been born in Boston felt that he needed to be born again", a jest which was true of more cities than Boston. For it emphasised the optimistic character of American



VI. RELIGION

1. ST. PATRICKS, NEW YORK
(*Underwood and Underwood*)

2. A CHURCH ON THE YALE CAMPUS
(*Wide World Photos*)

3. MORMON TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY
(*Noniolo, Ltd.*)

Protestantism. When Calvinism *was* dominant in New England it was *less*, not more, determinist than was European Calvinism. The greatest of American Protestant theologians, Jonathan Edwards, was not expounding a dominant doctrine, but defending a desperately assailed position, and although he won his point with his professional colleagues, he lost it with the common Christian, who determined that if this were orthodoxy, he would risk heterodoxy. Against the belief that, in America, most things were possible, that faith and energy could remove mountains in this world, that communities could be converted *en masse*, the good and prosperous life made open to all, old-world theological pessimism fought in vain, and it is only in the last few years, and that, as yet, neither deeply nor widely, that Christian pessimism¹ has begun to find spokesmen and hearers in America.

It would be rash to speak of specifically American religions since all important American cults are Christian in origin, but the American contribution to religious variety in modern times has been marked by the national optimism and the national belief that most important events in religion, as in other departments of life, now occur in America. At one end of the scale is Christian Science, in many ways a legitimate extension of the development of New England religion, at the other end such odd cults as that of "the Great I Am" and the creation by "Father Divine" of a successful cult of a God incarnate in a living American Negro, a cult not confined to Negroes. And still important in the West are the Mormons, whose basic belief is that the North American continent had its place in the central Christian history long before the coming of Columbus.¹

¹ There are two Mormon Churches; the larger has its headquarters in Salt Lake City, Utah; the headquarters of the smaller

There remains one religious body outside the dominant national tradition, yet so numerous and powerful as not to be negligible.¹ The Catholic Church in America claims almost 22,000,000 members, although, as this figure includes infants, it is not a fair standard of comparison with the Protestant membership, which includes only adults and adolescents. The 22,000,000 are distributed over about 19,000 churches in 11,000 cities, towns, or villages. When these figures of over 1,000 members per church, with an average local Catholic population of 2,000, and with one and a half priests to every 1,000 Catholics, are contrasted with the average membership of 235 for each church unit in the whole United States, it is evident how centralized, how urbanized, the Catholic population is. There are rural areas where it is strong, but where there is no urban centre, Catholicism is rare and the odd scattered Catholics sink into the general non-Catholic background; they are lost to the Church in a way unknown in Europe, where the countryside is soaked in Catholic tradition even where, as in France, faith is not lively. American Catholics, in the mass, are urban and proletarian; in every large city outside the South (and in the largest Southern city, New Orleans) the most numerous organized religious body is the Catholic. Thus the conflict between town and country in America may very easily take on a religious colour, as the most powerful Church in the towns rejects in its views of conduct and society, the traditional—that is, the rural Protestant—ideal of the good life.

Between one-fifth and one-sixth of the American

is at Independence, Missouri, and regards the other as heretical. The history of Latter-Day Saints has curious affinities with that of Islam, with the Salt Lake City branch representing the Sunnis, and the Independence branch the Shiah.

¹ Judaism is discussed under the head of races and immigration. See p. 23.

people (and a much higher proportion of its regular church-goers) belong to a Church which denies many of the generally accepted principles of American society. American Catholics do not believe that conduct is all, or that there is no relation between conduct and belief, or that the State, in an ideal order at any rate, should have no concern for religious belief, or that one religion is as good as another, or that a religion is to be tested by the immediately utilitarian value of its contribution to social peace or economic prosperity. These denials of the common American "religion of all sensible men" ought, at first sight, to provoke constant conflict. They do not; first of all, because the Catholics are, except in a few areas, everywhere a minority. The application of these principles would be made not by a Catholic State supporting the ethics of the Church, but by a Protestant State supporting the ethics of heretics. So the Catholic Church in America has an interest in protecting *all* minority rights, as it is the greatest of all American minorities. A Jesuit weekly like *America* will join the protest against the Supreme Court decision asserting the right of school authorities in Pennsylvania to enforce a salute to the flag on school-children who are members of the violently anti-Catholic sect of Jehovah's Witnesses. Once the idea gains currency that the State can enforce, against any religious scruples, public rites expressive of national unity, the most obvious sufferer will be the greatest of American dissenting bodies, that church, which, in the nature of things, cannot submit its doctrines, or practice, to the judgment of purely national standards. The claim of the leaders of American Catholicism is not for State help, but for State neutrality. From time to time attempts are made to get State aid for Catholic schools, for a share in the free text-book fund, or the use of school-buses,

but these claims are not pressed against real opposition. The best that the Catholic Church in America can hope for is Cavour's ideal of "a free Church in a free State". For this reason there is less open conflict between the dominant Protestant and the vigorous minority Catholic tradition than might have seemed likely. The wiser Catholic leaders are aware that the dominant national tradition is Protestant, indeed anti-Catholic; that, as the rise of the new Ku Klux Klan showed after the last war, any wave of intolerance, even if it starts by attacking Negroes and Jews, will not stop until it has attacked Catholicism, in the South a more popular target than the Jews, and everywhere else a more conspicuous target than the Negroes. In their attitude to social reform, to the New Deal, to Left movements among the workers, there are great differences in all ranks of Catholicism, even at the top, as was made evident when, in Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago, the New Deal and the C.I.O.¹ had one of their most warm supporters, which could not be said of any of the other American cardinals. That is, in its attitude to current American problems, the Catholic Church in America is less united than its spokesmen sometimes assert, and many of the strains that are felt by American Protestantism are (except in the field of formal doctrine) also felt by American Catholicism.

American Catholicism is not merely the religion of a minority, but of a self-conscious, poor, and apprehensive minority. Although one of the original thirteen colonies, Maryland, was founded by Catholics and produced such leaders of the early Republic as Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Chief Justice Taney, Catholicism became a great force in American life only in the nineteenth century, as two great waves of immigrants poured in. The first of these waves was that

¹ See p. 51.

of the Irish, who, from the 'forties onward, provided the congregations and the pastors for the fast-growing church on the Atlantic seaboard. The French bishops who had spread Sulpician traditions were replaced by Irish bishops who spread the less humane traditions of Maynooth. In the Middle West the growing church was as much German as Irish (a point too often forgotten). Although there were cultivated Catholic emigrants from both Germany and Ireland, the vast majority were peasants bringing to America the simple religious ideas of rural Ireland or rural Bavaria. As the flood of immigration continued, in each generation the primary need was to hold and organize the proletarian masses from Europe, and as Poles and Italians succeeded to Germans and Irish, this task became more and more difficult, and the Irish and German rulers of the Church had their hands full without diverting their resources to apologetics or to missionary work among the Protestant majority. Not until this generation has the Church been given time (with the cessation of mass immigration) to take breath and take stock. One result of this preoccupation with the immigrants has been that the Catholic Church in America has counted for astonishingly little in the formation of the American intellectual climate. It has been parasitic on Europe for its intellectual spokesmen, for Karl Adam and Jacques Maritain, for Hilaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton. Many eminent American scholars and scientists are Catholics, but in no modern Western society is the intellectual prestige of Catholicism lower than in the country where, in such respects as wealth, numbers, and strength of organization, it is so powerful. Some of the leading American men of letters like Eugene O'Neill and Theodore Dreiser are of Catholic stock, but it is only in the last decade or so that writers like John O'Hara and James Farrell have begun to describe, with more or less objectivity, and at different

social levels, the life of so numerous a class in American society as the Irish Catholics.

Another force making for this isolation is the determination of the Church authorities to ignore the State educational system, and to build up, from the elementary school to the university, a closed system of Catholic education. These institutions, predominantly, sometimes exclusively, staffed by members of religious orders, are outside the general frame of American education. They are subject to very slight State control and, despite immense sacrifices, cannot compete in material resources with the State system. Thus, although some Catholic universities are very well known, the most famous of all, Notre Dame, for its chemistry as well as for its football team, none of them except, possibly, the Catholic University at Washington, ranks among or near the first-class institutions of higher learning. And it is a not unnatural, if apparently paradoxical result of this state of things, that the biggest advertisement for the orthodox Catholic system of philosophy has come not from any Catholic institution, but from the nominally Baptist University of Chicago, and its chief exponent has been not a divine, but a Jewish layman, Dr. Mortimer Adler.

• Catholicism in America is a private thing; it only rarely and then timidly asserts in public its view of the good life. Where it is pretty sure of being supported by the dominant religious traditions, as in campaigns for "clean" films and books, it may take the lead, relying on the disproportionate number of active politicians who are Catholics. But, even in such cases, the imposition on a cosmopolitan population of the sexual standards of Irish Catholic Puritanism has its dangers, if only because it attracts attention to the real or alleged political power of a Church which the American people, in the mass, are prepared to tolerate but not to love or admire.

One of the main, perhaps the main organ of coherence among the immigrants, is the churches. The Lutheran churches and colleges were and, to some extent are, forces retarding the complete assimilation of German and Scandinavian immigrants; they help, at least, to preserve the language of the mother country. An immigrant who enters the Methodist Church or the Baptists (although this latter group of churches has a more international character) is merged more quickly with the American mass than the immigrant who, while a good American citizen, is continually reminded of a Zion located outside the United States.

The same conflict is to be seen in the Catholic Church. The dominant Irish hierarchy first of all fought the attempt to preserve the German language and customs in church and school, and, that victory won, they have had to fight the same battle over again with Poles, Italians, Slovaks, all the ingredients of the melting-pot. European priests, brought out to work as missionaries among their brethren and acquiring great prestige among them, have often proved indisciplined subordinates. Schism has occurred from time to time, and there has been some drift into less autocratically controlled churches. The Italians have provided more Protestant recruits this way than would at first sight seem likely. But only one group has continued the fight beyond the first generation. The French-Canadians in the United States have clung to their native language, to the services of a French-speaking clergy, to French schools and colleges, with a tenacity that the most vigorous Irish-American bishops have failed to conquer. But the French-Canadians are not only a peculiarly obstinate people, they have their homeland, not across 3,000 miles of ocean, but across an open frontier in the Province of Quebec, whence come material and spiritual support. The Society of St. John the Baptist is, in scores of New England towns, a citadel besieged with

little success by the authorities in Church and State alike. But this is an exceptional case. In the second generation assimilation is well under way; the language of Church and State schools is English; the constant pressure of American life destroys the old traditions; the main ambition of the children is to pass for good Americans. If the children of the immigrants cling to the faith of their fathers, that faith has taken its colour from the American scene, and the ministers and priests produced by the new immigrant stocks model themselves on the clergy of the older and dominant tradition: on Henry Ward Beecher, on Dwight Moody, on Cardinal Gibbons.

America is overwhelmingly Protestant and still more overwhelmingly Christian. Organized religion still plays a greater part than it does in any other great industrial State. What "Christianity" means in this context it is hard to define. But it does mean that the majority of the American people have an emotional, if not intellectual, attachment to absolute values, that they believe that things are right or wrong, not merely profitable or pleasant, or the reverse. They may not agree, in any given instance, as to what is the right thing to do, but they do agree that "righteousness exalteth a nation".

"Righteousness" nearly always takes an active form. The way of Martha, not the way of Mary, is the American way of religion. Even American Catholics do not differ very much from their countrymen on this point. Contemplative religious orders do not flourish on American soil, and all churches make great play with statistics of numbers, of schools, colleges, orphanages, hospitals, social services of all kinds. On such figures they base their successful claim to be exempt from taxation, their claim to be an indispensable part of a healthy American society. And, despite criticism from the Left, despite the decline of dogmatic belief among

the young, the American people wishes all Churches well, as long as they do not thrust before it doctrines that offend American optimism and do not, in the name of morals, attempt to enforce, by law, standards of conduct too completely unlike those obeyed by the average citizen. A politician who takes too lightly, or a preacher who takes too seriously, the rôle of organized religion in American life soon pays for his mistake. *The churches are in retreat on some fronts; they have been defeated over prohibition, over Sunday observance, over many minor moral questions. As far as they condemn or do not openly defend birth control, they are marking the profound difference between their preaching and national practice. They are perplexed by doctrinal difficulties and by the increasing indifference of the laity to doctrine. But deep in the American mind is a belief that this is God's Country, and that the phrase is no mere booster's boast, but the statement of a sacred truth.*

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESS

THE American Press presents a paradox. Its circulation has never been so great. Nearly 40,000,000 copies of daily newspapers are sold, nearly one for every three inhabitants, and there are nearly 1,900 daily newspapers. But although circulation figures have continued to mount, the position of the Press is not wholly happy. Each year, for a decade past, has seen the disappearance of important newspapers. Over a great part of the country competition between newspapers has practically ceased, which is regrettable in a country in which the Press is supposed to be a vigilant critic of parties, interests, and governments. As the number of newspapers has fallen off, the importance of the financial investment in a paper has increased. In a big city a newspaper represents a great investment and is a big business unit. To start a rival paper to one in existence takes a great deal of courage. *P.M.*, an evening paper recently launched in New York, is one of the very few new papers started in the last ten years.¹

Some very famous and admired papers, like the *New York World*, have disappeared under financial pressure. The second biggest city in the United States has now only one morning paper, while London has six,² and Glasgow, with less than a third of the

¹ One of the most eminent of American newspapermen told the writer that it would be folly to try to launch a new paper in Chicago with less than \$8,000,000 capital.

² Excluding in both cases trade papers, papers in languages other than English, and the *Daily Worker*.

population of Chicago, has three. The vast majority of the Press is Republican or "Independent", and some traditionally Democratic papers have turned against Mr. Roosevelt. Yet, despite this Press opposition, Mr. Roosevelt won in 1936 the greatest electoral victory in American history and did no better in New York, where the bulk of the Press supported him, than in Chicago or St. Louis, where the bulk of it opposed him. The American Press, that is, has far less effect on public opinion and is far less reliable as an indication of public opinion than tradition asserts. In this department the old rôle of the Press has been taken by the organized "polls", and the American papers that print the weekly findings of the "Institute of Public Opinion" more or less consciously abdicate their old rôle as the voice of the people.

There are some features of the American Press situation that need emphasis. First of all, the evening Press is much more important than it is in Britain. There are four times as many evening as there are morning papers, although circulation is only five to three. In most regions the only paper is an evening paper, and even in great cities one of the most important papers, or *the* most important paper, may be the evening paper, and where both morning and evening papers are published by the same owners, as in the case of the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Kansas City Star*, the evening paper is the more important of the two.

Then, in the United States there cannot be a "national press", as there is in Britain and was in France—that is, papers published in London or Paris but with vast circulations running into millions distributed all over the country. Only one American paper, the "tabloid"¹ *New York Daily News*, has a

¹ A "tabloid" is a picture paper in a special small format, like the *Daily Mirror* or *Daily Sketch*.

circulation of over a million. No paper has a general circulation much outside its own immediate region. The nearest approaches to exceptions to this rule are *The New York Times*, which is read (in conjunction with a local daily) from Boston to Washington, and the *Chicago Tribune*, which circulates over a wide region round Chicago. *The New York Times* (by general agreement of readers and newspapermen the best of American newspapers) deserves this exceptional position.

The absence of national newspapers is, of course, primarily due to the size of the country, and the same factor accounts for the great rôle of small-town papers. Towns that in Britain would scarcely run to a drab weekly, in America may have good, indeed deservedly famous, dailies. Mr. William Allen White, as editor of *The Emporia Gazette* in a town the size of Abingdon in one of the lesser states, Kansas, has become the most famous of American editors. The late C. P. Scott, with whom Mr. White has been properly compared, could not have acquired his reputation had he edited a daily in Wigan (like Wigan, Kansas has a rather comic connotation).

The gentleness of the American law of libel saves the American Press from that nightmare of the British editor, the blackmailing libel action, which makes even the most honest reporting and the most reasonable comment risky. "Crusading"—that is, campaigns of exposure directed against local or national "graft"—are still part of the American newspaper tradition, but, it is asserted, no really powerful interest is now ever attacked, and this immunity is attributed to the fact that the owners of newspapers are themselves big-business men and members of "society". Big business and the foibles and misfortunes of the very rich are asserted to be "sacred cows" in too many newspaper offices, especially by critics who regret the

good old days when a pistol or a horsewhip was part of the equipment of the frontier editor, weapons of defence against critics of the paper's tone. Except in Denver and one or two southern towns in the days of the Ku Klux Klan, violence or threats of violence are not powerful forces in American editorial policy today.

The most popular explanation of the alleged timidity of the American Press is the influence of advertising. In the case of the great newspapers it is not alleged that an advertiser dare directly threaten reprisals, but it is asserted that great newspapers more or less automatically fail to stress items of news likely to weaken the competitive position of such basic advertisers as the great department stores, the automobile manufacturers, etc. The new New York paper, *P.M.*, has, among other innovations, done away with all advertising, treating as news such parts of the advertising as appears in other papers—if it is timely, accurate, and important news.¹

A kind of substitute for national dailies is provided by the national newspaper "chains". Of these the two most famous are the Hearst and the Scripps-Howard chains. Mr. Hearst's newspapers are less numerous and less important than they were. He has been compelled to suppress papers in New York and Chicago, with consequent loss of face, if saving of cash,

¹ The place of the *Christian Science Monitor* deserves a note. It has many admiring readers who have less than no admiration for *Christian Science*. It earns this place by its excellent news service and its freedom from some of the worst faults of the ordinary Press. It has, however, serious faults of its own. "The *Christian Science Monitor* . . . is rated the third most reliable newspaper in the country, but is not that [sic] high on the list of desired employers. This is no doubt due to the fact that most reporters are not attracted to the policy of the *Monitor* on news of illness, death and violence. (For many years the *Monitor* did not use 'death', 'Santa Claus', or 'died' in its news columns and it shows a tendency to emphasize amicable international relations as against crises and war threats.)"—Leo C. Rosten *The Washington Correspondents*, p. 199. Mr. Rosten is "Leonard Q. Ross", author of *The Education of Hyman Kaplan*.

and the scorn which he was able to pour on critics who did not know what the public wanted, now comes oddly from a man who has apparently lost that very common touch which made him such a portent in American journalism a generation ago. In make-up, in style, and in editorial attitude, the Hearst Press belongs to a dying order. The other great chain—the Scripps-Howard—has more papers than the Hearst (nineteen against seventeen), but some of these are small. But it appeals to a much more intelligent audience than does Mr. Hearst's chain, and though there are many readers who think that Mr. Roy Howard has moved so far to the Right as to be an unworthy heir of "Lusty" Scripps, the papers of this chain (especially rich in "columnists")¹ are still far less mere reflections of the idiosyncrasies of their owner than are the units of the Hearst chain.²

One section of the American Press that is in a rapid state of decline is the foreign-language Press. As immigration has dried up to a trickle, the market for a foreign Press has shrunk. Authentic figures of circulation are hard to come by, but the daily foreign-language Press has less than 1,000,000 circulation. The old predominance of the German Press in this field has passed, as far as circulation is concerned, to the Yiddish Press, but Germans, Italians, and Poles have important daily journals, and most nationalities have some daily newspapers, although they are often poor and feeble.

The chief of the news agencies is the Associated Press. Its symbol *AP* is a prized asset of the papers which belong to this great co-operative association. Loosely but inaccurately called a "franchise", the membership in the association is a very valuable competitive asset

¹ See page 76.

² The (Seattle) *Post-Intelligencer*, although a Hearst paper, is edited with some independence by Mr. John Boettiger, Mr. Roosevelt's son-in-law.

for a newspaper, especially if it alone among local papers possesses the privilege. The *AP* supplies both local and national and international news, its members paying for the services rendered in cash and by supplying local news free. So prized is membership that a paper which has the franchise is thereby made more worth buying or acquiring, a truth made evident in recent years in places as far apart as New York and Chattanooga. Under financial pressure, the *AP* has now been forced (1941) to establish a subsidiary company which sells some services to non-members. The other chief agencies—the United Press and the International News Service—are not co-operative enterprises, but closely linked allies of the Scripps-Howard and Hearst chains. Thus, while all the great American newspapers have their own news-gathering sources, in the field of international news all papers depend to some extent on one of the agencies or on all of them. And, in addition, the newspapers with famous foreign services—papers like the *Chicago Daily News*, for instance—syndicate their news-stories to other papers.

Nor does this end the interweaving of the theoretically separate Press units. For in the last ten or fifteen years the supply of "features" has become a great newspaper problem. As the editorial pages have become duller, more uniform, less representative of varying sections of public opinion and more representative of the opinions of big business, of which a rich newspaper is itself a unit, as the Press has represented country club rather than country, to recall the gibe of a former editor of the *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, the demand for varied candid and independent comment has created a supply. The true representative of the Greeleys, Gradys, Bowles, and Danas of the past is the "columnist". The columnist writes under his own name a commentary on such events of the day as interest him. He ranges from the licensed or

tolerated gossip, of whom Mr. Walter Winchell is the most famous example ; through the chatty diarist, like Mrs. Roosevelt, whose *My Day* does continuously what Queen Victoria's *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* did at intervals, assures the women of America that they and the First Lady are sisters under the skin ; or the highly personal comment of Mr. Westbrook Pegler on his many dislikes and occasional likes ; to the purely political commentators of whom the most famous are Miss Dorothy Thompson, Mr. Walter Lippmann, General Hugh Johnson, and Mr. Raymond Clapper.¹ What marks all successful columnists is their impression on their public of the value of their *individual* opinion. The reader is expected to buy the paper not to see what it, under the editorial "we", has to say, but what one or more columnists have to say—and they may not agree either with the paper or with each other. The nearest approach to the American columnist in the British press is not a writer, but a cartoonist, and Low in the *Evening Standard*, living in a curious symbiotic relation with a paper from whose general attitude he so often and so deeply differs, represents very well the independent rôle of the columnist. As long as his contract runs he is his own master, only subject to the ignominy of being cut. And if, as is the case with all the leading columnists, the pronouncements of the public oracles are syndicated far from the original Delphi of New York or Washington, the syndicating paper or agency has often to consent to be the means of circulating dangerous thoughts as part of a business bargain. What offends the Catholics

¹ The greatest of American newspapers, the *New York Times*, does not encourage the highly personal view of world affairs that marks the true columnist. In Mr. Arthur Krock for home and Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick for foreign affairs it has two deservedly famous commentators, but they are not, and do not try to be, columnists—that is, priests and prophets as well as reporters of and commentators on the news.

of Boston may not be displeasing to the Baptists of Atlanta, and truth, or opinion, will out—somewhere.

Closely linked with the newspaper columnist is the radio commentator. Sometimes the double rôle is filled by the one person. Miss Dorothy Thompson is equally at home and effective before the microphone or the typewriter; some radio commentators, like Mr. Boake Carter, have had careers as columnists, others, like Mr. Raymond Gram Swing, are eminent newspapermen who have found on the air a general fame they did not know on paper. But all the commentators, those who write and those who talk, those whose chief business is scandal or domestic prattle, equally with those whose normal concern is with "what the Swedes intend and what the French", keep the American public aware of the world being full of a great number of things. And as the world has got darker, Mrs. Roosevelt (now a great public figure in her own right) has turned from domesticity to great matters of state, and even Mr. Winchell has lifted his eye and ear from Broadway to disapprove of Hitler.

But it is not only comment that is syndicated. Comic strips which, more and more, are picturized adventure stories, ensure that all over the Union, Tarzan, Superman, Little Orphan Annie, and the rest of the heroes of childish mythology get to the same stage of their endless adventures at the same time. Miss Dorothy Dix and other counsellors on points of manners and morals give syndicated advice that seems to some critical observers rather out of touch with the current folkways, and the mental and physical fashions of Hollywood and Broadway are reported with lightning speed in Louisiana and Maine. Combined with national advertising, the Press and Radio help to smooth out local differences, to raise and lower skirts or brows in Little Rock or Podunk within a few weeks of the decision being announced in New York or

Hollywood and, next to the movies and in close association with them, help to impose a common standard of sartorial and mental uniformity over 3,000,000 square miles.

The periodical Press in America has some special characteristics. The "quality" magazines, *Harper's*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, have a circulation and revenues far beyond the dreams of any equivalent English publication. But they are small enterprises and investments compared with the great popular weeklies. Of these the eldest is the *Saturday Evening Post*, which claims (with no historical justification) to have been founded by Benjamin Franklin. Its real day of glory began round 1900, and it was for nearly a generation the most representative, as well as the richest of American periodicals. It is still very important, but it is no longer a pioneer at any level, and its somewhat stuffy Republicanism, its depressing typography, and its extreme unwillingness to offend "the old lady from Dubuque" make it more important as an advertising medium than as a journal.

The most interesting magazine system is that controlled by Mr. Henry Luce. On his return from Oxford, Mr. Luce and some Yale friends of his founded in 1923 *Time*, and the remarkable success of that magazine encouraged the foundation in 1930 (just as the depression was beginning), of *Fortune*, which "sold" the romance and glamour of American business with far more skill than the old-fashioned uncritical business magazines had done. It was aimed at readers with incomes of \$10,000 a year and over. In 1936 the title of the derelict comic monthly, *Life*, was bought and was given to a new and lavish picture weekly, which was as successful as all the others. The contrast between the solemnity and reverence of the *Saturday Evening Post*, the mediocre intellectual level of *Collier's* and still more of *Liberty*, and the smart

stream-lined, irreverent style of *Time* and *Life* and the thoroughness and comparative open-mindedness of *Fortune* made the Luce papers eminently representative of the disillusioned generation which had come through the war, the boom, the slump and was not strong in simple faith in a return to "normalcy" as a solution for present discontents.¹

Of the other American periodicals, the most famous and most interesting is *The New Yorker*. Although nominally frivolous, it has as much social significance as more pompous papers. Its "Profiles" have more than once been important factors in the creation of public opinion—at any rate of hostile public opinion. The account of Mr. Dewey was certainly no help to that aspiring statesman, and the series of articles devoted to Mr. Walter Winchell revived memories, *mutatis mutandis*, of the fate of Keats at the hands of *Blackwood's*. Other claims on the attention of the American (and British) public are of a more amiable kind; the mere names of James Thurber, Clarence Day, Peter Arno, and Ogden Nash show how much *The New Yorker* has added to the gaiety of two nations and even to their stock of innocent amusement.

Among many causes for the concentration of the Press in fewer units and the decline of its direct influence is the rise of Radio. Compared with other countries, the United States has allowed this new industry to grow up with very little supervision. The Federal Communications Commission has, indeed, tightened up the conditions under which the privately controlled stations are allowed to work, but with nearly 700 stations, of which over 400 make a profit, an investment of nearly a billion dollars² and an

¹ The most important rival of *Life* is *Look*, controlled by one of the most important newspaper dynasties, the Cowles family of Des Moines, Iowa, and Minneapolis, Minnesota. *Newsweek* is the nearest approach to a rival of *Time*; it is not very near.

² i.e., an American billion, 1,000,000,000—not 1,000,000,000,000.

annual income of about \$0,000,000 dollars, Radio, in America, is a big industry. The revenue of the companies comes from advertising, and it is too simply assumed in Britain, especially by the British Broadcasting Corporation, that this damns the American system. Undoubtedly the "plugging" of products can be irritating, and if the "Jell-o Again" of Mr. Jack Benny is inoffensive, there have been sales-talks, especially a too-famous laxative series, which probably stimulated sales-resistance. It is no doubt distressing to the serious-minded that the public favour should oscillate between Mr. Jack Benny and Mr. Edgar Bergen's famous ventriloquist's dummy, Charlie McCarthy, and that millions of Americans never seemed to tire of the banalities of "Amos an' Andy", but there is no evidence that radio has debased public taste, if it has done little to change it. On the other hand, serious music has been fostered, if only for prestige reasons, by the great chains; millions who would never have heard Toscanini or Mr. Barbirolli, before the days of Radio, have now a juster appreciation of what is meant by classical music. Then the local radio stations, supported by local firms, can cater to local interests and tastes with more zeal than any centralized organization is likely to do.

One aspect of American Radio is of the greatest importance. Public questions are discussed on the air far more frequently and far more realistically than they are in Britain. Instead of occasional formal set speeches, great political events like the national conventions are put on the air, and it is widely believed that whatever hopes of victory the Democratic party had in 1924, were ruined by the daily exhibition of internal feuds at the Convention that was provided by the radio. There can be no doubt that one of the most important factors in the political developments of recent years has been the fact that incomparably the

best radio speaker in the United States is the President. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Landon both suffered from the contrast between their comparative incompetence before the microphone and the virtuosity of Mr. Roosevelt. The "fireside chats" have restored the old direct relation between the national leader and the people, with an audience of tens of millions in place of the thousands of the old mass meetings. And the comparative ineffectiveness of the Press campaign against Mr. Roosevelt in 1936 and 1940 was, in part, due to the fact that the electors listened to the candidates instead of reading about them.

But not only presidential candidates go on the air to *expound their case*. *Minor and indeed hopeless causes* are preached freely, and the radio industry, not altogether of its own volition, has become the vehicle of a freer, more varied, and more representative expression of public opinion than the Press can now claim to be.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION

THE United States takes education very seriously, almost too seriously, tacitly assuming that all that is worth learning can be taught—and needs to be taught. The figures are most impressive, 26,000,000 enrolled in elementary public schools, nearly 7,000,000 in high schools, around 1,400,000 in "universities and colleges". The realities are less impressive than the figures. In many regions, especially during the recent depression, the number of weeks spent in school in any year is, by European standards, scandalously low. It should be remembered, however, that the South, which shows up badly, apart from its aversion to spending money on the education of Negroes, has more children and less revenue per thousand of the population than any other region. Yet that is not the whole story: tradition has played a great part. Wherever the New England emigrants went, they took with them that high estimation of the importance of literacy that marked all the Puritan colonies except Rhode Island. If the New Englanders did not insist that the laity should be masters of the logic of Petrus Ramus, they insisted that they should be prepared to hear and digest the sermons of a clergy who were. The "little red schoolhouse" of American tradition was a New England institution, and a far more potent source of spreading New England's ideas than the rather feeble missionary efforts of the Congregational churches. Next in importance to this tradition was the Jeffersonian

belief in education as a political necessity for a republican government. Only a literate population could discuss and decide, and so live in freedom.

But neither President Dunster nor President Jefferson foresaw nor, in all probability would have approved, the modern democratic theory of education that has made millions of high-school pupils and hundreds of thousands of college students out of boys and girls whose talents (or, as Jefferson would have put it, genius) were far from adequate, by traditional standards, for the burden of learning. Even the most optimistic examiners, in the most optimistic of states like California (where geniuses are numbered by the thousands by scientists whose business it is to find them), could not discover enough boys and girls qualified to endure higher education of the old type. So education was adjusted to the demand, and trades and skills, learned in other countries by practice, were elevated to the rank of sciences. It is easy to show the absurdities of these confusions of different gifts—and if we think of schools and colleges as designed for the exceptionally gifted, taking gifted in its traditional intellectualist sense, the American educational system would make more than Quintilian stare and gasp.

But the American public-school system, like the English "public-school" system, is only in a small degree designed to teach the arts and sciences. It is really designed to teach the art of living in a democratic and competitive society, and that it does, on the whole, very well. At the elementary stage it teaches English, games, national traditions, and the habit of living together to the poor children of many races and many creeds. It is a profoundly necessary task, well done by under-paid teachers. No one doubts the necessity of this part of the educational machine. But higher up?

The rôle of the high school, at any rate in small

towns, is not to be described merely in terms of formal education. From that point of view it may be inefficient. Its numbers have been swollen in recent years by boys and girls who are in the school merely because they cannot get jobs and the attempt to provide a curriculum that will suit all tastes and capabilities may result in handicapping the really bright boys and girls. But the high school is not merely or mainly concerned with teaching English or chemistry. It is a centre of local social education; it brings together the children of all classes, or almost all classes. The very poorest may not be represented, or may be cut out of the social activities, and the children of the very rich may be sent away to smart boarding schools in the East. But to a degree unparalleled in England and less and less common even in Scotland than it was, the small-town high school (and a small town in this context may have 50,000 inhabitants) brings the younger generation together for a few critical years. Even if class lines are later drawn on economic bases, this common experience is not without social value. The football team, the basket-ball team, the band (which gives the girls a chance to attract attention), school plays, and pageants fill the local Press and attract local attention to an impressive degree. "Graduation"¹ is the great event of the year, and it matters comparatively little that few of the graduates have taken very much away from the school as permanent mental furniture. They have learned how to live with others of a different background and different social and economic standards. It is true that the *mores* of the high-school pupils often shock conservative parents, but the conflict between formal and real standards thus revealed is existent in American society;

¹ The term "graduation" in America is applied not merely to degree-giving ceremonies, but to the passing out of the pupils of any educational institution of whatever grade, with the possible exception of reform schools.

it is not created by the schools. In the school the child of immigrant parents is given a chance to make "American" friends, is drawn from the often stagnant pool of the little, national group that is cut off from its homeland and not yet assimilated to America; the younger generation is thus given a chance to acquire a wider emotional background of loyalty which is an advantage to the United States—and to the boy or girl, though often a cause of internal conflict in the home. But again it is all American life, not merely the high school, that makes for the danger of conflict between parents moulded by a Polish ghetto or a Sicilian village and their American-born children. The spreading of common ideas and even of social habits like bridge from school-children to their parents is a great service to American society, and is in the truest sense educational.

Of course there is another side to this. The diversion of so much of the funds available for education to ostentatious buildings and to recreational facilities has to be paid for, in inadequate salaries for teachers and insufficient attention paid to teaching. The existence in some schools of an exaggeratedly intense social life, especially among the girls, makes the burden of keeping a daughter at high school—and reasonably contented—very heavy for poor parents. If her clothes, her hairdressing, her social assets, her car, or her ability to play her part in party-giving are much below the average, she is shut out from just that side of the school's activities that is most interesting to adolescents with no marked intellectual bent. Even if the children from "the wrong side of the tracks" meet in high school the children from the right side, they are living on the wrong side, a fact reflected in their clothes, their homes, their manners. But again the school does not invent or exaggerate these differences, it diminishes their importance and mitigates their consequences.

One great weakness of the American educational system is the fantastic number of independent school authorities. In 1934 there were nearly 130,000 school districts, one for every thousand of the population. When it is remembered that great cities like Chicago and New York are included in these figures, it is plain how small and weak many of these districts must be. Some progress has been made towards consolidation of school districts in the rural areas, but an obstinate conservatism usually reserves the right of the parents of each small group to the control and the patronage of the local school. Rural schools are often badly built, badly equipped, their teachers badly paid, with no security of tenure and, were it not that in many cases the school-teacher is the daughter of a local farmer, the district could not pay even a meagre salary adequate to keep the teacher alive. Tiny school districts, like those of many rural states, cannot withstand financial storms, and the teacher is sometimes unpaid and sometimes employed for only the few months the district can afford.

Great variations in the number of days of average attendance result. As between states this is usually an indication of comparative wealth and poverty; the nominal difference between maximum and minimum number of days in the school year is as much as fifty, and far more than that if actual, as apart from nominal, attendance is computed. The Michigan school-child attends on an average 171 days in the year, the Mississippi child 98. Corresponding variations in salary range from the Georgia average of \$546 to the California average of \$2,337.¹ But poverty is not the only explanation of the weaknesses of the American school system. Wealthy cities in Ohio have professed themselves unable to find the money to keep their schools open. In Chicago, teachers' salaries were many months in arrears, and

¹ These comparative figures were compiled in 1936.

offices doing a profitable, if risky business in discounting the School Board's promissory notes, were a conspicuous feature of the second greatest American city while it was celebrating "a century of progress". At the best, American elementary schools are better housed and as well staffed as those of western Europe, but the variations in equipment, efficiency, and availability of American schools are very great indeed, and many American states guarantee to the children of their poor less school advantages than any state of western Europe does. But this is not realized, and open indifference to the welfare of the schools is dangerous for any politician. To incur the enmity of the local Parent-Teacher's Association is to run a grave risk of popular revolt, and it is safer (outside the South) to waste money on the schools in conspicuous fashion than to appear to grudge it to the hope of the future.

It is often asserted that the class bias of English education is unknown in America. This is an exaggeration of an important truth. Especially in cities with a very large immigrant population, prosperous parents refuse to send their children to schools whose tone is likely to be set by the children of immigrants. Semi-private day schools, like those associated with Teachers' College in New York and with the University of Chicago, serve the needs of this class. But boarding-schools are more and more popular. Some of these are old foundations, like the Phillips Academies at Exeter and Andover; others, like Groton, are imitations of the Anglican public schools of England. Others, like the "military schools" of the Middle West, of which Culver is the most famous, represent the resignation of the American parent to the decline of paternal authority. Boarding-schools for girls tend to be of the "finishing variety"; girls who go to Miss Spence's or to Farmington are, on the whole, less likely to go on to Bryn Mawr or Vassar than girls at

Roe-dean or Wycombe Abbey are to go on to-Girton or Lady Margaret Hall.

But while the picture of American school-life as an ideal democracy is wide of the truth, school does not make such a difference to the future career and social self-satisfaction of the American as it does to that of the Englishman. Mr. Roosevelt, like a notorious ex-President of the New York Stock Exchange, is an old Grotonian, but that is much less important than being an old Etonian. And the fact that American fiction deals far more with college than with school life is significant. There is no Tom Brown or Billy Bunter in American literature.

As states are legally competent to charter colleges and universities, the only legal safeguard against debasing the academic currency is the conscience of the legislature—and that has proved highly elastic. Religious bodies, reasonably sceptical of the status of some of their own colleges and universities, were rigid tests applied, help to encourage a broad and flexible view of what constitutes an institute of higher learning, and Catholic and Methodist fears benefit quite secular institutions. So even in the highly-literate state of Massachusetts there is (apart from the formal constitutional pre-eminence of Harvard) a lush crop of chartered institutions whose mere titles startle the European, used to the rigid care which the old papal and imperial privilege of chartering *studia generalia* is exercised.¹ Little is learned, therefore, when the legal status of an institution is discovered, and to be a college graduate may mean anything, from having received an education in one of the greatest universities in the world to having spent some years in an institu-

¹ Thus Mr. R. L. Ripley has been made a "Doctor of Oratory" by the "Staley College of the Spoken Word" of Brookline, Massachusetts. (*The New Yorker*, August 31st, 1940, p. 22.) This, in Europe, would undoubtedly be an item fit for "Believe It or Not".

tion which teaches anything, at any level, from that of a badly-equipped high school upwards.

American usage distinguishes between "university" and "college". A college teaches undergraduates the "arts and sciences". It has no professional schools of law, medicine, architecture, divinity.¹ The college curriculum is extremely varied. Some colleges preserve a remnant of the belief in the fortifying virtues of the old classical curriculum by denying the A.B. degree to students who have not taken Latin; the Sc.B. degree usually given in its place signifies, a critic has noted, not a knowledge of science, but an ignorance of Latin. Since the students may be studying any subjects or groups of subjects, the old unity of the college "class" is now fictitious, at any rate in a large college. The famous Harvard class of 1829 celebrated by the elder Oliver Wendell Holmes has no modern equivalent. A class now consists of some hundreds of students who have started and finished their four-year academic obstacle race together. The old class names are preserved—freshman, sophomore, junior, senior—and the numeration by year of presumptive graduation, so that the young men entering Harvard in 1940 compose the class of 1944. But there is no real unity in the class, and more and more the college societies, or "dormitories", or halls, or "colleges"² organize the incoherent group into more or less coherent units. A small college, of course, can do this more easily than a university, but even here the unit tends to be the college as a whole, not the class.

¹ Some great technical schools like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Cambridge, the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena teach professional "skills", engineering, architecture and the like, to undergraduates as well as foster advanced research in the natural sciences. They preserve their college character by having courses in English, history, etc.

² See page 92.

A university normally consists of a college to which have been added professional schools. Thus in the oldest of American universities, Harvard, the college still survives as the centre round whose periphery the graduate schools are grouped, and no one who is not a graduate of Harvard College ranks as a real Harvard man.

Since legal control of higher learning is a farce, the American public has to distinguish between institutions of the same formal character, but of entirely different degrees of eminence. There is an elaborate unofficial system of "recognizing" colleges and teachers, and it makes a good deal of difference in a profession to have graduated from a first-class law school or medical school or graduate school of arts and sciences. In wealth, variety of educational resources, intellectual prestige, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Chicago, Princeton, and four or five state universities lead all the rest. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton have the same kind of social prestige as is enjoyed by Oxford and Cambridge, but they share it with such colleges as Dartmouth, Williams, Amherst, and possibly with others.

American colleges and universities, great and small, are much more successful than their British counterparts in inducing their *alumni* to show their love for their academic mothers in the tangible form of cash. Various organizations enroll the *alumni* and induce them to make great and small contributions to the constantly increasing needs of the college. There is, it is true, another side to this organized generosity. The *alumni* are sometimes prone to think that, with their subscription, goes a right and duty to advise the rulers of the college on such points as the way to get a winning football team, or to avoid dangerous radicalism in the teaching body, or any other matter of educational policy that comes to their

attention. The degree to which *alumni* interference cripples educational freedom varies from institution to institution, but in some it is serious enough to be a ground for resentment and to justify the ambition of the college president of the anecdote. His ambition was not that of his colleagues, the rule of an orphan asylum (where no parents worry the administration), but that of being head of a penitentiary. "The *alumni* don't willingly come back to visit."

In addition to great and small gifts to individual institutions, only paralleled in munificence in this country by Lord Nuffield's gifts to Oxford, the great foundations, the Rockefeller, the Carnegie, and some others, have exercised considerable and, on the whole, desirable influence on higher education in America by a system of conditional grants—that is, offers of money made on the condition that other sums were raised locally, and that the academic standards of the institution were maintained or raised. This system has been especially effectual in raising the standards of medical and legal education.

One last point of academic government makes the American college more like the new English or the old Scottish universities, than like Oxford or Cambridge. The final authority is the Board of Trustees.¹ This consists of the President of the College and of a small body of outsiders, usually *eminent business men* or, in the case of state universities, politicians. This body, on which the teachers are ill represented or not

¹ The governing body of Harvard University is called "the President and Fellows", but the "Fellows" are not what is meant by that term in Oxford or Cambridge, not university teachers, but *eminent alumni*. It might be noted, too, that the "houses" at Harvard and the "colleges" at Yale are fundamentally different from colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, since they do not control their own finances; they cannot oppose the policy of the university, either to give it a lead or to act as a drag. They are units of a centralized system, not sovereign members of a federation.

represented at all, has the final word on all questions of policy, especially financial policy, and American college and university teachers sometimes look with envy at the ancient universities of England where all final decisions are made by academics. To the trustees, all errors and outrages are freely imputed, and it is assumed, rather too easily, that a purely academic body would be more liberal.

Advanced research is pursued in special institutions as well as in the great universities. The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research became, under Dr. Simon Flexner, one of the most famous centres of medical research in the world. The Carnegie Institution in Washington furthers research in physics, biology, and history; and the oldest of all these bodies, the Smithsonian Institution, runs museums, encourages research in anthropology and physics, and aids in "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among mankind".¹ Also in Washington is the Brookings Institute, which specializes in economic and governmental research. The most interesting of all these research centres is that organized at Princeton University by Dr. Abraham Flexner (brother of Dr. Simon Flexner). Richly endowed by the Bamberger family, the Institute for Advanced Study is notable for the eminence of its permanent members, Dr. Einstein, Dr. Lowe, the palaeographer, among others, and for the extreme flexibility of its methods. It is not part of Princeton University (although it works in collaboration with it), and it has no fixed programme, no degrees, no organized plan of objectives imposed from above.

¹ The Smithsonian was founded in 1846 under the will of an Englishman, James Smithson. Smithson was the illegitimate son of a Duke of Northumberland and he took the original family name of the ducal house.

CHAPTER VI

I

LITERATURE

DESPITE fiery literary proclamations and ambitious programmes, American literature remained, until this generation, what the critics have deprecatingly called "colonial" in spirit. At best, it was asserted, American writers took the attitude to English literature that Roman writers took to Greek. Emerson might advise them to forget the nightingale they had never heard and write of the bobolink that they had, but the average American poet or novelist wrote with one eye on the English landscape and with the other, in a rather distraught fashion, on America. And even if he admitted some American items into his flora and fauna, poison ivy and copperheads were not among them. Prudery and literary timidity forbade him to describe America as it was. It is true that the case against the emasculation of literature by convention has been over-stated; the limitations of Mark Twain's art were not as much the fault of his environment in Elmira as Mr. Van Wyck Brooks has suggested. But compared with the literature of the other great nations, American literature was lacking in depth and 'n candour.

To-day that situation is completely changed. American literature has come of age; it is equal in merit to that of any other great nation, a fact proved by its great prestige abroad. Three living American authors have received the Nobel prize¹ and American

¹ Mr. Sinclair Lewis, Mr. Eugene O'Neill, and Mrs. Pearl Buck.

themes, American methods, American idiom have a great audience and a great influence in England. It is the mother country which is now under the influence of her daughter in literary matters. American literature has declared its independence. More, it has maintained it. From the days of abortive epics like *The Columbiad*, through the optimistic dreams of Whitman, and the time when every newspaperman was supposed to be writing "The Great American Novel", the desirability of an independent literature had been preached and admitted. But when it came, in this generation, it was not universally welcomed. For the new literature that won the ear of America and the world did so by offending against the national rule of "Don't knock, boost". Mr. Sinclair Lewis exposed the dullness of life in small Minnesota towns and in large Minnesota towns; the less attractive sides of medical practice and research; the fraudulent side of evangelical religion; and the barbarous side of southern prison life. Mr. Scott Fitzgerald not merely revealed the improprieties of smart life but, in *The Great Gatsby*, implicitly criticized the standards of that society, a more serious matter than attacking its practices. The veteran pioneer of the new attitude, Mr. Theodore Dreiser, acquired a belated fame and, in a lighter vein, Mr. Mencken's *American Mercury* attacked the philistines and the frauds, the crooked politicians and the pedantic professors. In the weakening of the force of the old conventional national tradition in the field of sex morals, religious belief, cultural attitudes, books and magazines played a great part.

With the coming of the depression, the writer, by which the novelist is here meant, became still more critical and still more influential. Books as well as songs had now to possess "social significance". In Mr. Erskine Caldwell, the South produced a novelist whose depressing account of poor white life in Georgia

acquired, when transferred to the stage, something like the immortality of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.¹ Indeed, the South proved unprecedentedly fertile in novelists, generally of a grimly debunking kind, and after reading Messrs. Wolfe, Faulkner, Stribling, Bishop, and the rest, old-fashioned Southerners might well welcome *Gone With the Wind*, or the work of Mr. Stark Young, or even regret that it is no longer possible to sing with J. Gordon Coogler,

"Poor South! Her books get fewer and fewer,
She was never much given to literature."

But the great fictional tract, the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the age, was Mr. John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, which survived the fiery anger of California farmers and lady novelists, was transferred to the films, and made the problems of the dust-bowl as alive in the minds of modern Americans as Eliza crossing the ice had made the Fugitive Slave Law in the 1850's. But even humorous writers felt the spirit of the age. Mr. Ogden Nash commemorated in deathless (and incompletely printed) verse, the careers of some master-minds in business and politics, and Miss Ruth McKenney turned from recounting the triumphs of her "Sister Eileen" with her right hand, to describe the class war in Akron with her Left.

Of course, writers of the old, bland school continued to produce the old branded articles, and not all best-sellers were documents of social protest. Indeed, it was complained with justice that books whose lack of merit would have been obvious to the least critically minded of reviewers had they been simply variations on "Boy Meets Girl", were treated solemnly and appreci-

¹ It is notable that the longest theatrical run of the 'twenties was that of *Abie's Irish Rose*, a naïve and optimistic discussion of race problems. In the 'thirties, that honour fell to *Tobacco Road*, a grim and pessimistic account of a whole complex of problems, which is still running.

actively when that theme was mixed up with social protest and social documentation.

Whatever the value of the social theories behind so much modern American writing, there can be no doubt that the liberation of literature from its old bonds has greatly increased its value as evidence *about* America. The regionalist writers of a generation ago, Hamlin Garland, Ed Howe, and the rest, did tell a good deal of the truth (with a possibly distorting emphasis on its drabber side), but they hedged on some issues. Modern American novelists know no fears. The Louisiana of Mr. O'Donnell or Mr. Hamilton Basso, the coal towns of Mr. O'Hara's Pennsylvania, are described with a candour and sociological sense entirely lacking in the work of Cable, or even of Howells. Miss Willa Cather had shown in *My Antonia* that admirable work could be done within the old rules, and so had many others, but, thanks to the discarding of those rules, we now have a picture of modern America, brutal, coarse, biased, and dogmatic, but rich in information, in colour, and in vivacity. If the problem of the permanent greatness of American writers of to-day cannot yet be decided, the question of the influence and sociological value of contemporary American literature can be answered; it is great and is growing.

It is harder to decide what classes are influenced by this new realistic and critical literature. A best-seller like *The Grapes of Wrath*, especially since it has been filmed, reaches strata usually impervious to literature. In general, the American middle-classes are less in the habit of getting books from private commercial libraries like The Times Book Club than is customary in England. They depend on the public libraries (some of which run a "rental" system) and they buy books. They tend to buy only best-sellers, so that the same books will be found at any given time on the tables of all the houses in the good New York

suburbs. Good books that did not get much public attention have thus a hard time, and the cheap reprint business is less developed in America than in England. The working classes are, of course, dependent on public libraries and the depression which increased the demand for books, reduced the supply, as libraries were often too poor to buy any or many new books. But the writers of books are, as a class, the writers of magazine and newspaper articles, and through these media reach a public that may never read any books, or any that are "unpleasant". Then the Women's Clubs, with their reviews of books by members, and the interesting but small class of professional oral reviewers who address little circles every week on the latest books, spread the names and to some extent the teaching of authors among people who may never get around to reading the book, but who must, for social reasons, know what is being read by many and talked of by more. If the American mind is less closed to new ideas than it was even twenty years ago, the share of the man of letters in that change is considerable.

In Poe and Whitman, America produced poets of international fame before she produced novelists or dramatists of comparable stature. But modern American poetry is not nearly as rich as other forms of American literature. In Robert Frost the stony fields of New England have found their poet, and for a time Illinois, with Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg, and Vachel Lindsay, with Miss Harriet Monroe as producer, was a nest of singing-birds. Miss Edna St. Vincent Millay in one vein and Mrs. Dorothy Parker in another dealt with the perennial topic of unrequited or otherwise unsatisfactory love, and a whole school of light verse writers found an ideal medium in *The New Yorker*, and, of these, Mr. Ogden Nash contributed a new verse form. But the greatest of American poets, Mr. Thomas Stearns Eliot, is an exile like Henry

James, and if, in the opinion of some readers, Mr. Eliot's work is like an iceberg with the St. Louis and Boston below-water portion more important than the Oxford and Canterbury superstructure, it is hardly fair to consider the Mr. Eliot of *Murder in the Cathedral* as an American poet.

II

THE THEATRE

The last twenty years have been the most brilliant period of the American theatre and the most depressed period of the American stage. By the theatre is meant dramatic writing, acting, production, and the impact of all three on the culture of the time; by the stage is meant the industry which lives by inducing persons to pay to see plays performed.

The drama is the youngest child of American literature. The American drama had no Poe, no Hawthorne, no Whitman, no Henry James, no Mark Twain. Today the American theatre is as rich in promise and performance as the American novel. Eugene O'Neill is not only a Nobel prizeman, but a great figure in the world drama. The English stage is deeply affected by American plays, players, and production methods. Although there are still marked differences in national taste, and successes in one country are often failures in the other, exchange between the London and New York stage is now on terms of equality—or to the advantage of New York.

The American theatre is rich in all genres. Poetical plays of some merit, like those of Mr. Maxwell Anderson; such varied aspects of Mr. O'Neill's genius as *Mourning Becomes Electra* and *Ah Wilderness!*; comedies like those of Mr. Behrman (whose name was once thought in London to be a *nom de plume* of Mr. Noel

Coward); thrillers like *Broadway*; satiric *tour de force* like *The Women*; plays against war like *What Price Glory?*; plays reflecting the development of current opinion like Mr. Robert Sherwood's *Idiot's Delight* followed by *There Shall Be No Night*—all show the variety of the American theatre. Political satire, dead in England, with the exception of Gilbert and Sullivan's mild generalities, since Walpole invented the theatrical censorship to kill it, has come to life in America in a ribald form where the obvious allusions of *Of Thee I Sing* became the plain statement of later plays. The American public has got used to seeing the President, the Supreme Court, all the traditionally most dignified figures of the nation adding to the gaiety of the nation in the true Aristophanic tradition. Definite Left propaganda found, for a time, a spokesman of great talent in Mr. Clifford Odets, and Mr. Orson Welles, in a production of *Julius Caesar* in modern dress, made fascism the theme. A revue put on by the Ladies Garment Workers under the title *Pins and Needles* made songs "of social significance" the talk of the town. In short, the American theatre is in great part about something, while the English stage is about next to nothing.

But it was not only the socially significant section of the American stage that was triumphant. From the days of *The Belle of New York*, the American musical comedy had its admirers in Europe, but not till the last two decades did New York replace Vienna as the chief manufacturing centre. Sentimental musical comedies like *No, No, Nanette* and *Music in the Air* were accompanied in their triumphant career by more sophisticated allies like *Anything Goes* or *On Your Toes*. New York and, after the coming of the talkies, Hollywood, made the songs of many nations, and a Frenchman who might have been dependent on his own *chansonniers* twenty years before, was able to sing "Maintenant

j'adore ça".¹ If Fletcher of Saltoun's wise friend was right, the last conquest of the American theatre was the most important of all.

But to talk of the "American theatre" is to mislead. It was not the American but the New York theatre that triumphed, for outside New York the American stage was almost dead. New York had always been the headquarters of the American stage, but there had been important permanent "stock" companies in the main cities; then there came the great development of touring, either by special companies or by the original cast at the end of the New York run. To have an "opera house" was one of the primary ambitions of every growing city. The films (and, some critics think, the exigencies of the stage hands' trade union) killed the stage in all but the largest cities. Only the most brilliant New York successes went on tour, and in great regions the population never saw professional acting at all. Plays were written and produced for a New York audience, metropolitan, sophisticated, mixed with out-of-town visitors on a holiday, more easily pleased than they would have been at home, and unwilling to set their judgment against that of the local population.

The domination of the American stage by New York is slightly tempered in the summer months by the activities of the "summer theatres". These are sometimes theatres in big resorts like Atlantic City, more commonly quaint converted barns in the more distant suburbs of New York or Philadelphia. The pioneer efforts of the Provincetown Players in Cape Cod have a deservedly creditable place in the records of the modern American theatre, and from "summer stock" have come one or two later New York successes (like *The Pursuit of Happiness*) and some promising young actors, but it is significant that the American

¹ "That's My Weakness Now."

theatre escapes from the grip of New York only when that city is too hot to hold it.

In rural America, crude comedies of the "Punkin Crick" school flourish and amateur theatricals of a serious type are now widespread in numerous "little theatres". There are even signs of a revival of permanent stock companies. During the life of the "Federal Theater Project", unemployed actors and other stage workers were employed to give performances in regions where the very notion of a performance by living actors had vanished from popular language, but a vigilant Congress, suddenly careful for the public purse and suspicious of Congreve and Communism (and not always distinguishing one from the other), ended this bold adventure.

Not only has the film industry hurt the stage by killing its market outside New York, but it has drained away to Hollywood much of the best writing, acting, directing talent. Occasionally a Hollywood star pays Broadway the compliment of attempting to repeat her success there, but, with few exceptions the attempt to shine in two spheres fails. The films drain the stage but do not fertilize it, except by making the sale of film rights part of the financial reward that encourages speculation and, at times, by leading to the production in New York of plays designed only to be translated to the screen.

The rise of the films has weakened more than the American stage. The music hall, or, as it is called in America, vaudeville, has failed to meet the competition of the screen, and burlesque (or burlesk) has not done much better. Some of the greatest stars who used to adorn the Palace in New York now shine in Hollywood, chief of them Mr. W. C. Fields; others serve as *hors d'œuvres* at great movie-houses. Burlesque in America never had a Nellie Farren to grace it, but its comedians, Bozo Schneider and the rest, had a robust

if simple talent, and it produced the Marx Brothers, in whose art the old buffooning tradition is surrealized. Burlesque still survives, but merely as a conventional background to such public figures as Miss Anne Corio (admired of the late Justice Holmes) and Miss Gypsy Rose Lee, the greatest of strip-teasers, whose skill, when compared with that of their imitators, makes the critical spectator realize what Napoleon meant when he said that "war is a simple art, all is in the execution of it".

One form of popular amusement has survived the battle with the films better than any other: the circus, if not what it was, is still a far more impressive institution than it is in Britain; Hollywood has not yet produced a substitute for the tents and the smell.¹

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III

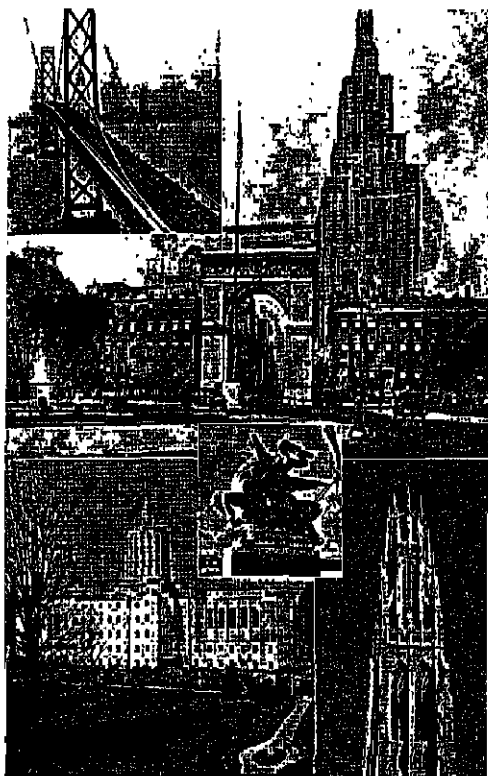
THE OTHER ARTS

In "serious", as apart from "popular" music, the American contribution has not been impressive. McDowell, Aaron Copland, Deems Taylor and Mr. George Gershwin of "Rhapsody in Blue" are representative names. Nor have there been many great American executants, apart from singers, and of these the most interesting have been Negroes like Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, and Roland Hayes, or characters like Mary Garden. America has been a most munificent patron of European executants and, as the American stage has declined, the American orchestra has grown in splendour. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago (and even a not very large Middle Western city like Minneapolis) have first-class orchestras. But it must be admitted that almost all the star conductors—Toscanini, Stokowski, Koussevitzki, Ormandy, Mitropoulos—are importations, like most of the music they play.

¹ I have not attempted to classify "Hellsa Poppin".

One development of popular music has, for the moment, been given the status of a high art form. What French highbrows called "le jazz hot" and what in America was called "swing", a form of free improvisation on a theme, "going to town over a rhythm", has for the past four years been the delight both of dancing fanatics, "the jitterbugs", and of ultra-sophisticated exponents of culture. From Benny Goodman swinging "You've got me in between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea", through Miss Maxine Sullivan swinging "Loch Lomond", to the more purely musical appeal of Mr. Archie Templeton or the experts of the Onyx Club, the possibilities of this method seem likely to be approaching exhaustion. But for the moment, Mr. Artie Shaw and his colleagues are given a critical attention that Mr. Paul Whiteman and even Mr. Duke Ellington never earned.

Apart from some competent portrait-painters (and in Gilbert Stuart an elegant one), American achievement in the visual arts was, until very modern times, mediocre. Hiram Powers's "Greek Slave" now interests us solely for the evidence of American prudery provided by its chequered history, and the painters are mainly valuable as providers of historical material. Indeed, the great Civil War photographer, Brady, is a more important artist than most of his brethren of the brush. In the next generation, the two greatest American painters were exiles, and if Whistler's highly personal vision has survived the judgment of posterity better than Sargent's eclecticism, neither seems as important today as it did around 1900. In Saint-Gaudens, America produced an admirable academic sculptor, and in Winslow Homer, George Bellows, and some others, admirable illustrators of the American scene. In the present generation the impact of French ideas is very evident. As a pure artist, the most eminent practitioner is probably Miss Georgia O'Keefe, but the old tradi-



VII. ARCHITECTURE

1. SAN FRANCISCO BRIDGE (*Sport and General*)
 2. WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK—CLASSICAL,
COLONIAL, NEW YORK SKYSCRAPER (*Keystone Press Agency*)
 3. MODERN SCULPTURE, "SPEED" (*Sport and General*)
 4. CAPITOL, SALEM (*Mondale, Ltd.*)
- HARKNESS TOWER, YALE (*General Photographic Agency*)

tion of the American artist as a witness to American life is carried on with humour and energy by Thomas Hart Benton and with scrupulous fidelity by Grant Wood. The Federal Government, in its recent patronage of the arts, encouraged the covering the walls of public buildings with frescoes which represented not the customary allegorical semi-nude female figures of prosperity, agriculture, Representative government, and the like, but past and present aspects of American life. The vogue of fresco-painting in the United States owed much to the fame or notoriety of Diego Rivera's work in Rockefeller Center in New York, which was defaced on the ground that it was Communist propaganda, but that such an artist was employed at all was significant, as was the comparative immunity with which Mr. Benton was able to paint and exhibit his "Susanna and the Elders". Art was on the way to achieve some of the liberty won by letters.

Modern American architecture might not too fantastically be described in terms of a struggle between Gilbert and Sullivan. In an age of ingenious pastiche and of the application of inappropriate decoration to the immense body of new building called for by the rapid growth of American cities in the second half of the nineteenth century, Louis Sullivan preached that "form follows function", and applied his principle to the great American building novelty, the many-storied office building, the "sky-scraper". Although Sullivan's chief aversion was the neo-classical mania of his contemporaries, his principle would equally have condemned the pervertedly ingenious application by Cass Gilbert of Gothic ornament to the "Cathedral of Commerce", the Woolworth Building. Sullivan's principles slowly won adherence, and in Frank Lloyd Wright, contemporary American architecture has produced a most ingenious designer and craftsman. Yet, despite the success of some factories and other build-

ings where advertising did not seem to call for irrelevant ornament, American architecture has increased in splendour, in bulk, and in formal correctness, rather than in originality.

In Washington, the great building programme begun by President Hoover and continued by President Roosevelt has filled the centre of the capital with the largest, the most expensive and the duller collection of neo-Roman buildings in the world. In domestic architecture, timid good taste has replaced the abuse of the fretsaw which marked the wooden houses of a generation ago. With wealth, brick has replaced wood, and correct Georgian houses, mixed with converted farm-houses, cover the country-side round the great eastern cities. In California, a neo-Spanish style predominates, except in the neighbourhood of Hollywood, where every exotic style is to be found. But although the atrocities of the time of General Grant are now avoided, modern American domestic architecture is more inoffensive than interesting. Now, as in the age of Eads and Roebling, American genius in construction is revealed by the great bridge-builders rather than by the architects.

IV

THE FILMS

Incomparably the most effective medium of expressing and influencing the American way and view of life is the film. The predominance of the United States may be disputed in the older arts, but not in this. More than a third of the total cinema-going population of the world is in the United States, where over 80,000,000 people a week go to the movies. Over two-thirds (\$2,000,000,000, £400,000,000) of the cinema investment of the world is in the United States, and nearly two-thirds of the world's films are made in

Hollywood. Nor is this all; it takes a most rigorous system of quotas, prohibitions, subsidies, publicity campaigns to keep the world from being even more indebted to the American film industry than it is. The truly international figures are the great stars, and although many of them are of non-American origin, as are many of the directors and themes, it is only in America that the full possibility of fame is attained. What would the world know of Greta Garbo and Charles Boyer (or of Marie Walewska) if the stars or the story had stayed at home? Even the mere threat to go home is news when uttered by Miss Garbo, but that is so because she does not work in Sweden.

With such an immense world as well as home market, the film industry can be pardoned for being even more timid than the Press. The liberty won by literature and the stage has been denied the film. State-censors have cut and maimed many films, but the most effective censorship is that imposed by the industry itself. The Hays Office, so called after its nominal chief, Mr. Will Hays, lays down standards of decorum that producers refuse to defy. Mr. Hays qualified for his important office by being a leading politician from Indiana, by serving in the Cabinet of President Harding, and by being a leading Presbyterian. But in more recent times, not only has it been less of an asset to have been in the Harding Cabinet and involved in the complicated financial history of the Republican party at that time, but it has been less of an asset to be a Presbyterian. The chief critics of screen morals were the Catholics, and the effective custodian of Hollywood's good name is Mr. Hays' assistant, Mr. Joseph Breen. He is a Catholic and the shield between the industry and the Legion of Decency. Americans, as Mr. Dooley remarked, are short-winded crusaders, and there have been signs that the Hays Office is loosening up. Stars of undoubted integrity



VIII FILMS

1. WHERE THE STARS WORK (*Associated Press*) 2. WHERE THEY LIVE (*Associated Press*)
HOLLYWOOD BEVERLY HILLS
3. WHERE THEY SHOW (*8 or 9 Cities*)
BROADWAY, NEW YORK

and healthy charm, like Miss Ginger Rogers, can appear in films like *Bachelor Mother* and *Primrose Path* without much adverse comment, but the days of the sultry and open vamp are gone.

In other ways the films have become bolder. They are still afraid of too-explosive material, but films like *Fury*, and still more *The Grapes of Wrath*, show that certain social issues can be dealt with in a simplified form. And even when a film is frivolous or, at any rate, not so consciously "epic" as *The Grapes of Wrath*, it can be an effective instrument of criticism. *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, *His Girl Friday*, *Boy Meets Girl*, to name three examples, must have annoyed persons in Washington, Chicago, and Hollywood.

But the industry exists to make money by entertaining, and if the whole world delights in the greatest original creation of modern American art, Donald Duck, and high-brows and low-brows, for different reasons, rejoice in the surrealistic comedy of the Marx Brothers, the mass product of the industry is merely entertaining. But it is worth noting that the world *does* find it entertaining, and one consequence is that never in history have the scenery, the buildings, the way of life, the domestic furnishings, the trains, buses, clothes of a people been so thoroughly known to the rest of the world. Long after Miss Ginger Rogers had abandoned it, her famous "hair-do" was the rage in Algiers, and children forgot Robin Hood and other national legends of heroic banditry to play gangsters or G men. America provides the Sherwood Forest, the Abbey of Thelema of the Western world. Even great legends of the world are seized by the great American art, and who knows that the Brothers Grimm will not be known, at most, as providers of a libretto to Mr. Disney, and the film *Snow-White* be to the original text what *Le Nozze di Figaro* is to the *Mariage de Figaro*?

CHAPTER VII

DIVERSIONS

I

SPORT

SPORT is one of the great American industries. In the variety of games played, watched, and paid for, the United States leads the world. And as far as any game has a claim to be the "national sport", that title belongs to baseball, professional and amateur.

At the top of the system of professional baseball are the two leagues, the National and the American. Each consists of eight teams, who compete for a "pennant". The winners of each contest then meet in what is called, with some boldness, "The World Series", and the first of the teams to win four games is champion for the year. It should be noted that the teams taking part in the competition which ends in the World Series, are not merely confined to the United States, but to an area bounded by Boston, Washington, St. Louis, and Chicago. Outside this area are the minor leagues, some of whose members serve as "farms" for the big league teams. The ownership of a big league team involves a very great investment in money, whose reward may be only partly in cash. Each team has one owner, who may, of course, represent a syndicate,¹ or be a very rich individual of the yacht-owning class.

¹ Thus it is asserted that Mr. James A. Farley, who has resigned his position as Chairman of the Democratic Committee (and Postmaster-General), is to buy the most famous of all teams, the New York Yankees, on behalf of a syndicate.

But although professional baseball is highly organized, amateur baseball, especially small-boy baseball, has a real hold on public attention; it is the game of the people and, as it is speedy, calling for great dexterity and rapidity of decision, and gives opportunities for violent self-expression to the players and spectators, it suits the American national temperament even better than cricket does the English.

It is difficult to estimate the real hold of baseball on the American man in the street. Traditionally he thinks of nothing else during the World Series or when the local club is on the way to winning a pennant. But the figures of attendance in New York do not suggest an interest comparable with that shown in Association football in most British towns, and interest in the World Series is not conspicuously more intense than that shown in England during a cricket Test match, or in France during the great bicycle race. It may be doubted whether many of the younger generation know what "Tinker to Evers to Chance" means, or could recite "Casey at the Bat". Yet professional baseball does still play an important part in the national life; its contemporary heroes, Joe di Maggio and the rest, are great figures, whether on the field or arguing about terms before the season begins. And all Americans, whether they know anything of the fine points of the game or not, know what is meant by "not getting to first base" in love, or politics, or business.

The only rival to baseball as a spectator sport is football. American football is a more rigid version of rugby, played by teams of eleven a side at a time. To the foreigner, the oddest aspect of it, apart from the head- and body-armour worn by the players, is the system of sending reliefs in, so that fifty odd players may take part in a game, some only for a few minutes. Played by highly disciplined teams, the character of American football is revealed by the fact that the

permanently famous names in its annals are not those of players, but of coaches. Walter Camp of Yale and Knute Rockne of Notre Dame were, and are, more famous than any star player, Red Grange or Whizzer White. Although football is widely played in schools, it is primarily a college game. The leading teams are provided by the great universities. Unlike professional baseball, there is no organization professing to cover the whole country. There are local leagues, like the Big Ten in the Middle West; but the "All America" team picked by various experts at the end of each season exists only on paper and, as any one can pick this kind of team, the honour of being an "All American" player may be rather widely distributed. Each college and university has a traditional game that marks the height of its athletic season—e.g., Harvard *v.* Yale. Victory in that game wipes out defeat in all other football games and, indeed, in all other sports. In some colleges and universities hysterical interest is whipped up by "pep talks", but the main source of enthusiasm is the *alumni*, who tend to judge the progress of their *alma mater* in terms of football results. A coach who produces a winning team, who wins for Iowa the place hitherto held by Minnesota, for instance, is monarch of the campus. If he begins to lose, he is quickly dethroned. As in the nature of things few students can qualify for this remarkably strenuous game, the main college athletic event is a gladiatorial show watched by thousands of spectators who do not and did not play the game themselves. It is suspected that the uncritical devotion of the "I'd-die-for-dear-old-Rutgers" type is dying out. One reason is the rise of professional football. Some critics would say that there is little difference except in publicity between professional and college football, and certainly remuneration, in kind if not in cash, is common in college football. The University of Chicago has abandoned competitive

football on the ground that it does not propose to subsidize players, and it cannot compete with universities which do. But as professional football grows in popularity, as the superior skill and discipline of the professionals attract the support of those who go to see football, not merely to a social event, the problem of college football may solve itself. Professionals dying "for dear old Mara"¹ may and do draw from college football some of the revenue that was relied on to pay for large stadiums, bowls, etc., as well as (in some cases) to pay for players. College football may then become like college baseball, a sport, and not a great industry, and universities may be less commonly regarded as traditional adjuncts of a football team.

The severity of the American winter makes it impossible (outside the South and California) to have great outdoor sporting spectacles after the end of November. The sport-loving spectator then betakes himself to the "field house" of the local college, where such games as basket ball are played, or to ice-hockey rinks, or to such great centres of professional sport as Madison Square Garden in New York.

"The Garden" houses every kind of sport, but its most famous associations are with boxing. The heavy-weight champion of the world is one of the great public figures. Other boxing titles concern only enthusiasts, but "the Champion" is known to every male and to many female Americans, at least by name. A generation ago, to the average Irish-American the greatest member of his race was "the Strong Boy of Boston", John L. Sullivan, and today it may be surmised that for one Negro who rejoices in the scientific distinction of Dr. George W. Carver or the artistic and athletic achievements of Mr. Paul Robeson,

¹ Mr. Timothy Mara is the most prominent ruler of professional football.

there are a score whose hearts are lifted up at the thought of Mr. Joe Louis, the "Brown Bomber".¹

Joe Louis is not the only Negro to achieve fame by athletic eminence. The hero of the Berlin Olympics in 1936 was Jesse Owens, and his triumphs illustrate not merely the rôle of the Negro, but the degree to which Americans excel in competitions where exact training or scientifically designed equipment, like the improved pole for pole-vaulting, pay dividends in victories. Though far below football in college prestige, track and field events are more esteemed in American college life than in England, and the equipment provided for the athletes is very lavish.

Of other sports there is no end; some are predominantly upper-class interests, like golf and tennis, which are also interesting in that they are taken part in by people who play them badly, while the general tendency is to leave games to persons who play them exceptionally well. There are temporary crazes like that for bicycling, and new sporting industries like the sudden rise of skiing in New York.

A special place should be given to horse-racing. This plays a considerable part in American life, but a much less important part than it does in England. No race is a great popular festival as the Derby is in the South and the St. Leger in the North of England. Gambling, "playing the races", is also much less widespread; the apparatus of legal or illegal gambling, though on an impressive scale, is not an integral part of working-class life to the extent it is in England. There is plenty of gambling; the most popular form it takes at the moment is the "numbers racket";² but

¹ There has been no non-American heavy-weight champion of the world since Bob Fitzsimmons was defeated by Jim Jeffries in 1899.

² The numbers are provided unintentionally by official bodies. The last figures, for example, of Federal Reserve clearances are chosen in advance, and the bookmaker, if it is not too expensive for

gambling of a purely non-economic character is less common in America than in England. The American worker does not yet admit that only luck can make any substantial difference to his economic position—and luck based not on participation in the economic system by stock exchange or land speculation, but luck entirely divorced from investment and economic calculation.

Sport in America, even when predominantly "amateur", as in the case of tennis and college football, is a great business enterprise and, apart from tennis and golf, the number of active participants after college days are over is probably smaller than in England. On the other hand, "hunting"¹ and fishing are open to far more Americans. Fishing is particularly the great American middle-aged recreation. The great size of the country and a different social structure make it easier to provide reasonably good fishing facilities for a large number of persons. States acquire merit in the eyes of their citizens by stocking rivers, by enforcing close seasons, by preventing disease, and, in semi-arid regions, providing not only fish, but lakes for them to swim in.

II

SOCIETY AND SOCIETIES

It is only an apparent contradiction in terms to assert that the fundamental democratic and egalitarian character of American life is demonstrated by the ingenuity and persistence shown in inventing

him, pays out to those who have picked the correct figures. This requires an elaborate organization of runners, etc., and can only be carried on (like English street-betting) with unofficial police tolerance. This has to be paid for, and control of the numbers game is one of the most profitable assets of machine politics.

¹ Hunting in America includes shooting or any other method of pursuing more or less wild animals; it is not confined to that form of it which consists in riding after hounds.

marks of difference and symbols of superiority. In a truly class-conscious and caste-dominated society, the marks of difference are universally recognized even if resented. In America they must be stressed, or they might easily be forgotten, and they must be added to, as the old standards of distinction cease to serve their purpose. Apart from the simple economic criterion of conspicuous display, there are no generally accepted marks of social difference in America. And modern salesmanship makes clothes, cars, and personal adornment far more alike than was possible in the old days of belated styles and the Model T Ford. It is worth noting that the main stress of American class distinction is put on "exclusiveness". In a society without formal public recognition of differences in rank, with a poor and diminishing stock of natural reverence for hereditary eminence, and with a constant rise to the top of the economic system of new men amply provided with the only substitute for hereditary eminence, wealth, it becomes extremely difficult to make "society" anything but the spare-time activities of the rich. It is characteristic that it is in cities whose days of economic advance are over, in Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, that it has proved easiest to keep out the new-comers.

Socially speaking, the *Rise of Silas Lapham*¹ would have been easier in a city producing a great many new rich magnates than in Boston, which produced few. The "Back Bay" society of Boston, the "Main Line" society of Philadelphia, the families who have the *entrée* to the St. Cecilia Society of Charleston have managed to keep intruders out.² In Boston, the most striking feature of the organization of "society" is the practically complete exclusion of even

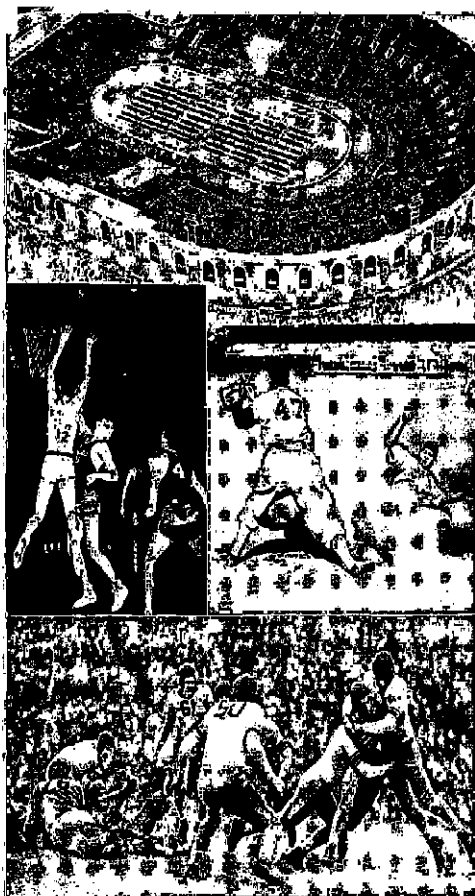
¹ The title of a novel by W. D. Howells.

² A novelist's view of Philadelphia society can be got from Mr. Christopher Morley's *Kitty Foyle* and an inside view from Mr. William Bullitt's *It's Not Done*. Boston society is dealt with by Mr. John P. Marquand in *The Late George Apley*.

the richest and most distinguished Irish-Americans from the most coveted social functions of the city. But elsewhere "society" is a door that, being pushed with the proper weight and persistence, yields. This may be true of London and Paris too, but in America *every* town, large and small, has its own "society" and part of the charm is that it is not open to everybody. The best people of Boston, Richmond, or Cincinnati may smile at the social pretensions of the Ak-Sar-Ben fête in Omaha,¹ but the best people of Omaha do not care. In a large British provincial city, society and society news are matters for London; the daughter of the local climbing magnate is presented at Court, not at some local carnival. Society, in England, is centralized, is necessarily small, is the subject of distant awe or irritation, while in America, snobbery, its pleasures and humiliations, are joys in widest commonalty spread. At all economic levels there are opportunities for climbing. Social distinction is a target to be aimed at, not a paradise outside whose gates the untouchables must forever long in vain. Social distinction is a reward offered to talents, or to the inherited assets of ancestral talents. It encourages conspicuous waste and, divorced from feudal tradition and feudal forms, it is often ludicrous. Then, as American society is overwhelmingly urban, the opportunity for service as leaders of local communities is limited. On the other hand, the diffusion of "society" over the whole country means that an American magnate has usually far more local patriotism than has his English compeer. He is secure from the temptation to lavish his resources in and around London, where his expenditure is most likely to be noticed by the rulers of society and the State.

Of course, the American common reader is inter-

¹ Omaha is the largest city in Nebraska; Ak-Sar-Ben is Nebraska spelt backwards.



IX. SPORT

1. PHILADELPHIA STADIUM

2. BASKETBALL

3. BASEBALL

4. FOOTBALL

(International News Photos)

ested in "society". He (and still more she) regards the show put on by the rich as part of the national fund of innocent enjoyment and enjoys it all the more when the enjoyment proves to have been something less than innocent. But the most conspicuous members of New York "café society" who fill the gossip columns are not often the leading members of the best, *i.e.* richest New York society. More than that, they have to compete with the nearest approach to a national "society", that of the film stars. Their doings and "misdoings" are the real staple of national gossip and fewer and fewer Americans would pass up the chance of a party in the Hollywood homes of the stars whose photographs appear on the front covers of the magazines, for the *entrée* to the homes of even the most attractive and versatile young society women who appear endorsing cigarettes on the back.

In American social life, a great part has been played by lodges and clubs. The lodges are the local branches of fraternal orders—Elks, Moose, Red Men, and the rest. They furnish opportunities for friendly intercourse; means of business and social advance; through their charitable funds a kind of insurance; and through the public charities they support, they fit into the pattern of organized giving that is so marked a feature of American life. In addition, the lodges have rituals, taken more or less seriously, which cater to the romanticism of many American men. They do not differ very much in organization or activities, but a man with an elk's-tooth badge on his waistcoat was supposed to be certain, in the days of prohibition, to know the name of a good speakeasy or, at any rate, of a speakeasy.¹ The Moose were more ostentatiously charitable than the other orders, and of course there were special types of orders appealing to one group,

¹ The most eminent Elk, Mr. James A. Farley, the great political organizer of victory of the Democratic party, does not drink.

e.g. the Sons of Italy or the great Catholic order, the Knights of Columbus. In the Coolidge boom times many local lodges built lavish club-houses, which, when the depression came, were hard to pay for and some local lodges went into bankruptcy. In general, the lodges are going downhill. One cause of this decline is the changing social rôle of women. The lodge was traditionally the place where the father of a large family took refuge from home. The tolerance of the presence of women in many bars and the rise of the country club open to both sexes have made the exclusively masculine lodge¹ less attractive. Only among the workers where families are larger, houses smaller, and wives more work-burdened do the lodges play their old rôle.

Strictly speaking, the Masons ought to rank with the lodges, but they cater to a much higher economic level, and although their "temples" are often as bad an investment as the club-houses of humbler societies, their members can afford to stand a heavy loss that would ruin Elks. A separate class is that of the luncheon clubs, of which Rotary carries most weight in the average small town. Election to Rotary is like election to a local Academy of Business. In the great cities there are, of course, still important clubs of the old type for men, but all but the richest and most secure are finding it hard to survive in an age where hotels offer the same facilities more cheaply.

The country club is an exception to this rule. It is usually associated with a golf-course and other athletic facilities; it admits both sexes, and in the summer it is the chief meeting- and mating-place of the prosperous young. Outside the great cities are the exclusive clubs, like Piping Rock and Myopia.²

¹ There are female lodges, too, but they are not comparable in importance to those of the economically dominant sex.

² Myopia was founded by a group of short-sighted sportsmen who wore glasses. Needless to say, Myopia is near Boston.

The elaborate scale of precedence of the various kinds of clubs, fraternal orders, and mere social or literary societies is an important part of the social structure.

In nearly all important American colleges and universities are to be found branches of the national fraternities.¹ These societies have as titles combinations of Greek letters representing Greek mottoes, but otherwise their intellectual interests are not conspicuous. They are, in fact, student clubs, providing housing and meals for their members and a pleasant sense of exclusiveness. Some fraternities are smarter than others in every region; others are locally predominant; but all fraternities are, socially, better than no fraternity at all. The students excluded from these societies are known as "barbs", i.e. barbarians, and in college politics, in fights for control of the college paper, or of the athletic teams, student politicians, both of the oligarchy and the democracy, learn their trade. It was as a leader of the "Barbs" at the University of Indiana that Mr. Wendell Willkie first displayed his mastery of the arts that win friends and influence people. In the smartest of all American colleges and universities—Harvard, Yale, and Princeton—the system has only a small rôle, but its place is taken by local clubs. Of these the most famous is the Harvard Porcellian, but the most interesting from the outsider's point of view, are the Yale clubs, the Skull and Bones and the Scroll and Key. These societies recruit their new members on "Tap Day", when the chosen few are "tapped" on the shoulder by the emissaries of the societies in presence of a crowd of students gathered on the elm-shaded campus.²

¹ The famous national society of Phi Beta Kappa is not secret and not primarily social. The members of its local chapters are elected from the most academically distinguished students of the year. The $\Phi\beta\kappa$ key is to be found on the watch-chains of very many successful Americans.

² According to Mr. Dixon Webster, the spectacle of anxious

Attempts have been made at various times to break down the fraternities and the clubs. A university or college which can afford to provide residential accommodation for all its students, and to insist on its use by all, can weaken the fraternities by diminishing their usefulness to their members as boarding-houses and clubrooms. Harvard and Yale, with their recent imitations of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, have done something to weaken the attractions of the less famous societies and to keep the great clubs in their proper place, which, for the socially ambitious, is still very high. In other colleges the position of the fraternities has been weakened by the deplorable financial results of the boom years, when fraternities launched out on a programme of lavish building and found themselves in the more sober decade of the 1930's heavily burdened with debt. This, more than occasional scandals, has made the position of the fraternities much less impressive than it was fifteen years ago.¹

These societies and clubs play a greater part in the life of American college students than do the few smart clubs of Oxford and Cambridge in the life of undergraduates. But this is not a proof that America is less democratic, but more; jealousy is a very democratic emotion, and the untroubled acceptance by the average Oxford undergraduate of the fact that he is not at all likely to become a member of the Bullingdon shows how comparatively uncompetitive social life in English universities is. American college life, like all American life, is an open competition with the handicappers under a constant fire of hostile criticism.

candidates waiting in hope and fear to be tapped has caused this ceremony to be known as "Desire Under the Elms".

¹ The women's organizations, the "Sororities", are imitations of the fraternities, but are weaker, less numerous, and have less glamour.

APPENDIX I

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[Reprinted, by permission, from "The American Political System," by D. W. Brogan (Hamish Hamilton). Italics and notes are his. Passages have been italicized where the exact text of the Constitution was important or where an important piece of constitutional machinery was involved, or where the meaning or effect of the passage has been the subject of controversy.]

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.¹

ARTICLE I

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. *The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.*

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and *who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.*

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.² The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one

¹ Drafted in 1787, went into effect in 1789.

² "Three-fifths of all other persons," i.e. slaves, cf. Amendments XIV, XV, and XIX.

Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.¹

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such

¹ Cf. Amendment XVII.

*meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.*¹

Section 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to

¹ Cf. Amendment XX.

him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

✓ To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square), as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,¹ and to exercise like authority over all places

¹ That is, the District of Columbia in which Washington is situated.

purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings, and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed

*No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken*¹

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State

Section 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit, *make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts*; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

¹ Cf. Amendment XVI.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a number or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.¹

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then

¹ Cf. Amendments XII and XX.

*act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.*¹

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

¹ The presidential succession is now regulated by an Act of 1887. Beginning with the Secretary of State, the succession goes according to the seniority of the department.

ARTICLE III

Section 1. The judicial powers of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.¹

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other

¹ Cf. Amendment XI.

crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses, shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the

members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; *but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.*

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS ¹

ARTICLES in addition to and amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

[Articles I to X are The Bill of Rights]

ARTICLE I (1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the Press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II (1791)

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, *the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.*

ARTICLE III (1791)

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV (1791)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V (1791)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the

¹ The date of the adoption of each amendment has been inserted in brackets.

militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, *nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law*; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.¹

ARTICLE VI (1791)

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII (1791)

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII (1791)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX (1791)

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X (1791)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI (1798)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII (1804)

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person

¹ Cf. Amendment XIV.

voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate, the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted, *the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the 4th day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.*¹

ARTICLE XIII (1865)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV (1868)

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. *No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.*

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons

¹ Cf. Amendment XX.

*in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.*¹

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by vote of two-thirds of each house remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV (1870)

*Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude.*¹

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI (1913)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatsoever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII (1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator

¹ Cf. Amendment XIX.

shall have one vote. *The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.*

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII (1918)

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX (1920)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XX (1933)

Section 1. The terms of President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such term would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the

case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them; and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article [*i.e.* 15th October 1933].

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

[The ratification of this amendment was completed by the adherence of Missouri, on 23rd January 1933.]

ARTICLE XXI (1933)

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, *in violation of the laws thereof*, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution *by conventions in the several States*, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by Congress.¹

APPENDIX II

FOREIGN-BORN RESIDENTS

NUMBERS of foreign-born residents in the United States according to the census of 1930: Italy 1,790,429; Germany 1,608,814; Great Britain and Northern Ireland 1,402,032; Canada 1,278,421; Poland 1,268,583; ¹ Russia 1,153,628; ² Scandinavia 1,122,576; Eire 744,810; Czechoslovakia 491,698; Austria 370,914; Hungary 274,450. Total foreign-born whites, 13,366,407. [The figures do not exactly agree as less important nationalities have not been included.]

¹ Proclaimed as ratified on 5th December 1933.

² Largely Jewish.

APPENDIX III

THE INDIANS

Of negligible importance in the American ethnographical picture are the Indians. Although very many famous Americans boast a little Indian blood, as did Calvin Coolidge, and although the one child that "our Mother Pocahontas" bore to John Rolfe has provided thousands of undistinguished as well as distinguished Americans with a romantic pedigree, the American Indian was never numerous enough to resist the advancing Whites for long or to affect them seriously. The Indian is no longer vanishing; he is, indeed, slowly increasing, but the "Indians" recognized as such by American law are often more white or Negro than red, and pure-bloods are likely to be a mere handful in a generation or so. The 350,000 Indians¹ are not evenly distributed over the whole country, though no state is without Indian population altogether. Delaware, the name of which was given to a great nation of which the Mohicans were a part, has only five, but in 1920 had only two.

Only in one state are Indians an important section of the population. Oklahoma was in part the old "Indian Territory" to which most of the eastern Indians were evacuated in the first half of the nineteenth century. That state has now about 100,000 Indian inhabitants, some of them practically assimilated to the white population in ways of life and largely white in blood. The late Will Rogers was a Cherokee of this type. Some of the land allotted to the Indians has turned out to be oil-bearing, and the Osage Indians, or their white neighbours, have profited by this fact. As many Oklahoma Indians are more directly under the control of state than of federal authorities, their interests are safeguarded more by the public opinion of the neighbouring white communities than by effective law. This safeguard has not always been adequate to prevent gross exploitation, but there has been an improvement in recent years in the execution of the laws designed to protect the Indian from his white friends and from himself.

Outside Oklahoma, most Indians are on reservations, preserving in varying degree their tribal way of life. For a long time the policy of the Federal Government was to turn its wards into independent farm-owning citizens, encouraging the break-up of the tribal lands, and taking an excessively optimistic view of the fitness of the average Indian to make his way alone in the modern world. In recent years a more cautious policy has been followed. Anthropologists have persuaded a more enlightened Indian bureau of the dangers of destroying tribal society. The old Government boarding-schools, like the mission schools, saw as their task the Americanization and civilization of savages. The Indian boy or girl was to be cut off from his or her

¹ Census of 1930 gave 332,397, as against 244,437 in 1920.

savage background and given a set of ready-made mental and moral habits from Government store. That this solution is no solution is at last recognized. The right of the Indian to remain Indian, even when he has learned more machine-technique, is now admitted by all but the most obstinate officials and missionaries.

The rôle of the Indian is much greater in the national mythology than it is in the more material side of national life. The myth of "the noble red man" has faded, but the romantic legend of Indian war is the chief American contribution to the folk-lore of the world. It helped to make the better treatment of the Indians a popular cause the moment that they ceased to be a nuisance, with the ending of the last Indian wars a generation ago. With Chief Joseph and Geronimo no longer on the war path, sentimentalists could lament that,

"Across the plains where once there roamed the Indian and the Scout

The Swede with alcoholic breath sets rows of cabbage out."

A tincture of their blood, a great legend and innumerable place names are the Indian contribution to modern America,

"Leaving such to the States they melt, they depart, charging the water and the land with names."

APPENDIX IV

INTERNAL FREE TRADE

It is customary to describe the United States as "the greatest free trade area in the world" and, on the whole, it deserves that description. Some of the advantages of free trade within so great an area are obvious enough. It makes possible the distribution of natural gas, for instance, with a complete disregard to frontiers. It enables Los Angeles to draw water from more and more distant regions, and so to attain a size which, had frontiers cut that desert city off from the water supplies of the Sierra Nevada and the basin of the Colorado River, would have been impossible.¹ It makes perfectly simple that marriage of Pennsylvania coke and Minnesota iron ore to which frontiers like those between French ore and German coke imposed, if not impediment, at least hindrance. But it does more than that. It makes possible real rationalization of the structure of great industries. It is easy to send coal to Duluth and take iron ore from Duluth in the same ships. But with the increasing importance of the by-products of coking, it is profitable to establish steel-making plants, neither on the iron nor on the coal-fields, but in regions, e.g. round Chicago, where there is a great market

¹ The fact that the mouth of the Colorado River is in Mexican territory has imposed difficulties and expense on the authors of schemes for irrigating the Imperial Valley.

for both the steel and the chemical by-products of its manufacture. In the same way, to get the utmost out of the heavy oils of some big American fields, it is necessary to "crack" them, and it is more profitable to pump the crude oil through the pipe-lines to cracking plants many hundreds of miles away from the wells, there to be broken up as demand suggests into gasoline, kerosene, lubricating oils, etc., and sold to the local industries of New England, than to "crack" the oil at the wells.

The same absence of tariff and other political barriers makes possible a high degree of agricultural specialization—makes possible the constant supply all the year round of fresh fruit and vegetables, for instance. But in this field, at least, ingenious politicians have found ways round the federal constitution. It is illegal for a state to impose tariff barriers, but it is permissible to make laws for the inspection of agricultural products which, under the guise of preventing plant diseases, impose obstacles to the free admission of competing products. A northern state imposing an excise tax on products of cotton-seed oil is well within its rights, even though the effect is to give protection to local lard. Laws for the protection of a clean milk supply may be applied in a way to diminish the competitive power of Wisconsin milk industry in the great New York market. And, by rigorous inspection and taxation of road vehicles, transport can be made more expensive and effective trade barriers set up.

The present Supreme Court has been reluctant to interfere with these abusive exercises of state sovereignty. It deplors such barriers, but holds that it is for Congress to provide a remedy in virtue of its constitutional power over inter-state commerce. There is, indeed, a general feeling that these trade barriers are a nuisance and may become a danger, but, left to themselves, the state legislatures, almost always dominated by rural members, will use their legal powers to protect their constituents. The naive arguments that serve to justify the protection of the bean-growers of Michigan against the dangerous competition of Chile, can be used to protect the vested interest of the Michigan farmer in the great Detroit market against the competition of other American farmers whose votes do not matter to any legislator in Lansing.¹

¹ The capital of Michigan.

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